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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this case study is to describe and interpret the process through which State-level policy decisions are made for the public schools of Tennessee. The report begins with a brief treatment of the socioeconomic environment and the political culture within which education takes place. State governmental arrangements for public school policymaking are then described. Next, State policy decisions in four educational issue areas are reviewed to illustrate the operation of the system, following which, the essential relationships and perceptions of the various actors are analyzed. An interpretation of the policymaking process and of the behavior of those who participate in the process concludes the case study. The data for the study were derived from interviews, questionnaires, documents, and secondary sources. The research took place during 1972 and early 1973. (Author)

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STATE POLICY MAKING FOR THE
PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF TENNESSEE

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this case study is to provide a description and interpretation of the process through which state-level policy decisions are made for the public schools of Tennessee. The report begins with a brief treatment of the socioeconomic environment and political culture in which education takes place. State governmental arrangements for public school policy making are then described. Next, state policy decisions in four educational issue areas are reviewed to illustrate the operation of the system. Following this, the essential relationships and perceptions of the different actors are analyzed. An interpretation of the policy-making process and the behavior of the actors who participate concludes the case study. The data for this case study were derived from interviews, questionnaires, documents, and secondary sources.¹ The research took place during 1972 and early 1973 and should be interpreted within that time frame.

SECTION I

CONTEXT FOR STATE EDUCATION POLICY MAKING

Education policy making does not occur independent of environmental forces. To understand this process requires that some attention be directed toward the setting in which it takes place. Thus, the geographic, socio-economic, and political characteristics of Tennessee are the concerns of this first section.

Geography and Natural Resources

Long, narrow, and a parallelogram in shape, Tennessee extends over 400 miles from the Appalachian Mountains on the east to the Mississippi River on the west. From north to south its greatest width is 110 miles. Tennessee ranks 34th among the American states in total land and water area with 42,244 square miles of surface.² The state is divided geographically into three major sections. East Tennessee contains three physiographic sub-regions: (1) the Unaka and Great Smoky Mountains, (2) the Great Valley of the Tennessee River, and (3) some of the Cumberland Plateau. Middle Tennessee has three physiographic sub-regions: (1) much of the Cumberland Plateau, (2) the Central (or Nashville) Basin, and (3) the Highland Rim around the Basin. West Tennessee is composed of the (1) Western Tennessee River Valley and (2) the Mississippi Flood Plain. These three regions form the basis for the main political divisions of the state, known as "grand divisions."³

Throughout much of Tennessee's history farming and the processing of products from the soil have provided a livelihood for a majority of its residents. Soils in the mountain regions are generally rocky, while those in the Great Valley and Cumberland Plateau are of varying fertility. But much of the Highland Rim and Central Basin is quite fertile, and the most productive soil is in the Mississippi Plains region. Climate in the state is usually favorable for agriculture--the average temperature is 60° F. The growing season ranges from about 150 days in the mountain regions to over 220 days in West Tennessee.

The principal cash crops are tobacco, cotton, soybeans, corn, and livestock. Tennessee is the leading dairy state in the South and ranks particularly high in the production of hogs. Memphis is one of the leading cottonseed processing centers in the world. Forestry products are among the state's important natural resources. Tennessee is the South's leading producer of hardwoods, and in the softwood category the state has 60 per cent of the nation's commercial red cedar. Finally, Tennessee is important among the Southern states in mineral production, the most noteworthy being limestone, marble, zinc, coal, phosphate, copper, and clay.

Socioeconomic Resources

Industrialization

Traditionally, more than 50 per cent of the manufacturing activity in Tennessee has been located in 5 urban counties: (1) Shelby (Memphis), (2) Davidson (Nashville), (3) Hamilton (Chattanooga), (4) Sullivan (Kingsport and Bristol), and (5) Knox (Knoxville).⁴ The industrialization and urbanization of these areas has been a major development during the last 50 years. Tennessee ranks high among the states in the production of knit goods, chemicals, synthetic fibers (rayon), lumber products, cottonseed products, and food and kindred products.

In respect to the percentage of workers in select categories, Tennessee showed the following distribution in 1970:⁵

	<u>Tennessee</u>	<u>United States</u>
White collar workers	41.5%	48.2%
Blue collar workers	42.3%	35.9%
Farm workers	3.8%	3.1%
Service workers	12.5%	12.8%

As is clear from these figures, Tennessee has fewer white collar workers than the national average and a correspondingly higher number of blue collar workers.

A recent research study characterized Tennessee's socioeconomic pattern in these words:

Economically, Tennessee is often pictured as a rural state dependent on small scale farming; but this conclusion is not wholly satisfactory, for the state as a whole has a rather varied socioeconomic pattern. Much of West and Middle Tennessee is rural farmland, but an increasing amount of urbanization and industrialization is developing. The Sequatchie Valley of Middle and East Tennessee has been primarily a mining area for decades. Upper East Tennessee is becoming highly industrialized. The major metropolitan centers of Tennessee are similar to urbanized areas anywhere in the country.⁶

A review of the industrialization of Tennessee would be incomplete without some emphasis and details on the impact of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) on the state's economy. Before the coming of TVA, the Tennessee Valley was an underdeveloped area, with a relatively low level of agricultural and industrial development. The people of the Valley were generally poor, many of them subsisting on a cash income of less than \$100 a year.⁷ For generations the farm homes of the region had been lighted with kerosene lamps, refrigeration was lacking, and electric appliances had been virtually non-existent. In 1933 the area served by TVA consumed home electricity at a rate 17 per cent below the national average. Within a two year period, after the completion of TVA, home use had grown to 77 per cent above the national average.⁸

Industrial employment in the region served by TVA increased from 220,000 workers in 1929 to 440,000 in 1953, an increase of 99 per cent. Income in the region from manufacturing grew from \$226,000,000 in 1929 to \$1,363,000,000 in 1953, a growth of 502 per cent.⁹ The selection of Oak Ridge as the site of a plant which was to have a large share in the production of the atom bomb was due chiefly to the availability of TVA power. In addition to industrialization and flood control, soil conservation, reforestation, and fertilizer production have benefited from the TVA project.

Population

Tennessee's population of 3,923,687 ranks 17th among the 50 states and 5th among the 12 Southeastern states.¹⁰ From 1960 to 1970 the population of Tennessee grew by 10 per cent. This growth was slightly below the national average (13.3 per cent) and ranked Tennessee 6th among the 12 Southeastern states. During the 1960-1970 decade the white population in Tennessee increased 10.3 per cent, but the black population increased only 7.6 per cent. As of 1970, 16.1 per cent of the Tennessee population was black; this ranked Tennessee 10th among the 50 states, and 9th among the 12 Southeastern states. Moreover, the percentage of whites in Tennessee rose from 76.2 in 1900 to 83.9 in 1970, while the black population decreased from 23.8 per cent to 16.1 per cent in that time period as shown in Table 1.

The size of the black population in each of the three grand divisions varies markedly. In 1960 (figures not available for 1970), West Tennessee accounted for 58.6 per cent of the black population, Middle Tennessee for 24.8 per cent, and East Tennessee for 16.6 per cent.¹¹ In 1970, 497,000 of the 621,000 blacks in Tennessee lived in urban areas. Rural blacks were concentrated in those areas of Middle and West Tennessee where cotton

farming was important. Shelby County (Memphis) in the extreme western part of the state contains about 40 per cent of the State's black residents.

TABLE 1
POPULATION IN TENNESSEE BY RACE: 1900-1970

Year	Total	Number White	Per Cent	Number Black	Per Cent
1900	2,020,616	1,540,186	76.2	480,430	23.8
1910	2,184,789	1,711,432	78.3	473,357	21.7
1920	2,337,885	1,885,993	80.7	451,892	19.3
1930	2,616,556	2,138,644	81.7	477,912	18.3
1940	2,915,841	2,406,906	82.5	508,935	17.5
1950	3,291,718	2,760,257	83.9	531,461	16.1
1960	3,567,089	2,977,753	83.5	589,336	16.5
1970	3,923,687	3,293,930	83.9	621,261	16.1

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census: 1970 Census of the Population.

Although Tennessee's population has increased in each decade since 1900, its rate of growth is declining. And from 1960-1970 Tennessee showed a -1.3 net total migration rate. It has been suggested by several authorities that this trend is likely to prove very detrimental to the state. According to one such observer:

The greatest proportional loss of population has been among people between the ages of 20-44, in the most productive years of their lives. A great many of these departed citizens of Tennessee are qualified for skilled and semi-skilled labor. This means that the state bears the expense of educating children from whom it receives no return in productivity. ...Such a decrease might lead to a contraction of local markets, an abandonment of farms and homes, and ultimately a rise in the average age of the citizenry, with a heavier proportion of old people in a dependent relation to the state. None of these things could produce a happy economic or social condition for Tennessee.¹²

Turning now to school enrollment growth, in the fall of 1971 Tennessee's public school enrollment was 896,913. The estimated enrollment for 1972 was 938,000. Using the 1972 enrollment projection, Tennessee shows a growth

rate of 10.6 per cent in public elementary and secondary school enrollment since the 1961-62 school year.¹³ However, enrollment growth in 39 other states was greater than that in Tennessee over the past decade. Some selected comparisons of enrollment growth between the years 1961-62 and 1971-72 are shown below:

	<u>Per Cent of Increase</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Nevada	93.7	1
United States	26.0	Average
Tennessee	10.6	40
West Virginia	- 7.7	50 ¹⁴

In 1970, 58 per cent of Tennessee's population was classified as living in urban areas, while 42 per cent was classified as living in rural areas. The four largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) contained more than half of the state's total population as shown below:

Chattanooga, Tennessee-Georgia	304,927 persons	
Knoxville	400,337 persons	
Memphis, Tennessee-Arkansas	770,120 persons	
Nashville, Davidson	541,100 persons	15

In contrast to her Southern neighbors, Tennessee has four cities with over 100,000 population. While the state contains both large and small cities, it has only four cities in the middle-sized category (25,000-50,000). Table 2 illustrates how Tennessee compares nationally with regard to urban population.

TABLE 2
URBAN POPULATION IN TENNESSEE AND SELECTED STATES, 1970

<u>States</u>	<u>Per Cent Urban</u>	<u>Rank</u>
California	90.0	1
United States	73.5	Average
Tennessee	58.8	34
Vermont	32.2	50

SOURCE: 1972 NEA Ranking of the States.

Education

The median school years completed for the Tennessee population was 10.6 years in 1970, a figure significantly below the national average of 12.1 years. In 1970, for persons 25 years and older, 41.8 per cent of Tennesseans had completed 4 years of high school or more compared with a national average of 52.3 per cent. While blacks were lower than whites in percentage of those who had completed 4 years of high school or more, the schooling levels of both groups increased substantially between 1960 and 1970 as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF TENNESSEE RESIDENTS WHO HAD COMPLETED
4 YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL OR MORE, 1960 AND 1970

	1960	1970
Whites	33.2	44.5
Blacks	14.2	24.5

SOURCE: 1970 U.S. Census of the Population.

The improvement in Tennessee from 1960-1970 with respect to median years of school completed is encouraging. Nonetheless, it is important to note that Tennessee is still below most states in terms of ninth graders who eventually graduate from high school. This is evident from Table 4.

TABLE 4

PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES IN 1970-71 AS PER CENT
OF PUBLIC SCHOOL NINTH GRADERS IN FALL OF 1967

States	Per Cent	Rank
Minnesota	91.5	1
United States	78.7	Average
Tennessee	72.3	41
Mississippi	59.4	50

SOURCE: NEA Rankings of the States 1972

As is shown in Table 4, Tennessee ranks 41st nationally in the percentage of ninth graders graduating from high school. The state's ranking of 4th among the 12 Southeastern states is more impressive, but the drop-out problem in Tennessee clearly is substantial.

Income

Tennessee is not one of the wealthier states in the Union. The median income in Tennessee in 1970 was \$7,447, well below the U.S. median income of \$9,590.¹⁶ The per capita personal income in Tennessee in 1970 was \$3,085 compared with a national average of \$3,921. Tennessee ranked 42nd among the fifty states on per capita personal income in 1970.¹⁷ The following income statistics give further indication of the relative poverty of Tennesseans.¹⁸

	<u>Tennessee</u>	<u>United States</u>
1. Personal income per child of school age (Tennessee's rank among 50 states--38th)	\$11,798	\$15,063
2. Net effective buying income per household (Tennessee's rank among 50 states--45th)	\$ 8,469	\$10,565

The above statistics are amplified when one realizes that in 1970, 41.4 per cent of the households in Tennessee had cash incomes under \$5,000. At the same time, only 24.7 per cent of the households in Tennessee had cash incomes of \$10,000 or more.¹⁹ On the positive side, however, Tennessee ranked 6th among the 50 states on "per cent increase in per capita personal income" from 1960 to 1970, with a figure of 99.8.

Tennesseans are not heavily taxed by either state or local government. Tennessee ranked 47th among the 50 states with respect to per capita total general revenue for all state and local governments in 1969-1970.²⁰ Tennesseans paid only 9 per cent of their personal income for state and local tax collections in 1970, ranking 46th in the country. The per capita

property tax revenue of state and local governments in 1969-70 was \$76.89 and the per capita state tax revenue in fiscal 1970 was \$175.05 ranking Tennessee 43rd and 47th, respectively.

Although Tennessee, relatively speaking, is quite low (42nd nationally) in per capita income, it is even lower (47th nationally) in per capita state and local tax revenue. This condition affects state-level governmental decision making by imposing a very limited budget. The amount of money available to schools reflects this condition. Local and state revenue receipts for public schools in 1970-71, as per cent of personal income in 1970, stood at 4.3 per cent, ranking Tennessee 41st among 48 states. Tennesseans spent \$715.00 per student (ADA) which ranked the state 47th among the 50 states. The State government in Tennessee provided 44.5 per cent of this \$715.00 per ADA in 1970. It is encouraging to note that Tennessee ranked 7th nationally among the 50 states with respect to per cent increase in estimated current expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance from 1961-62 to 1971-72, with an increase of 154.4 per cent over that decade.

Tennessee, then, has a varied socioeconomic environment. The state is becoming more urban and industrialized, though agriculture and mining remain significant in the state's economy. Income and taxation levels lag well behind the national averages. While educational attainment has increased in recent years, Tennessee ranks below most other states in this area as well. Population and student enrollment are growing at a slower rate than the United States as a whole. The out-migration picture, complicated by an increasing number of older citizens, poses a problem to future socioeconomic development in Tennessee.

Political Culture

The milieu in which the political attitudes of citizens have been developed and are maintained is clearly an important consideration if one is to understand the policy-making system of a state. Researchers have commonly relied on measures of interparty competition, electoral participation, and political culture in their efforts to depict a state's political context. These factors, as well as some brief commentary on selected political personalities in recent Tennessee history, will be discussed in this section.

Interparty Competition

Tennessee, traditionally, has been described as a one-party Democratic state. In 1950 William Goodman wrote: "Democratic dominance is so completely established and accepted (in Tennessee) that Republican East Tennessee stands more in the position of a fief to the Democratic lord than in that of a genuine political competitor."²¹ But in recent years the dominance of the Democratic party has given way to a more even balance between the two major parties.

Austin Ranney's index of interparty competition (1956-70) measures the 50 states according to the degree of interparty competition for state offices.²² According to Ranney, Tennessee is best classified as a "modified one-party Democratic state." Such a classification does appear to be appropriate for state political offices. The Democrats in 1973 controlled 58 per cent of the House and Senate seats in the Tennessee legislature compared with 42 per cent for the Republicans. But the success of the Republican party in state elections has been improving and if current trends continue, Tennessee will soon be classified as a two-party state. Republican

strength has long been found in East Tennessee and in recent years it has received electoral expression in other areas of the state.

Democratic control of the governor's office was the rule for 50 years. Then in the gubernatorial election of 1970, Winfield Dunn, a Republican, defeated John J. Hooker, the Democratic candidate, further evidence of the growing influence of the Republican party in state politics. Progress toward making Tennessee a two-party state is also indicated by recent elections for national offices. Howard Baker in 1966 became the first Republican Senator from Tennessee since 1869. Currently, both U.S. Senators from Tennessee are Republicans, Howard Baker and William Brock. In addition, Republicans won five of eight Congressional races in the 1972 elections. The Republican trend has been evident in Presidential elections. Since 1952 the Democrats have carried the state only once, in the 1964 election when Barry Goldwater was the Republican candidate.

The regional party division in Tennessee--Democrats being generally dominant in Middle and West Tennessee and Republicans being dominant in East Tennessee--dates back to the Civil War period. East Tennessee was Union-oriented while Middle and West Tennessee were influenced by the Confederate plantation culture.

Voter Participation

Tennessee, along with its neighbors in the South, has long been considered a low voter participation state. Lester Milbrath had computed average turnouts in selected Presidential elections between 1920 and 1968. On this scale Tennessee ranks 42nd among the 50 states, though 53.3 per cent voted in the Presidential election of 1968.²³ On a similar scale developed by Milbrath, voter turnout in gubernatorial and senatorial

elections in non-Presidential years (1952-1960), Tennessee ranked 41st among 48 states with an average turnout of only 18.5 per cent.²⁴ It should be noted, though, that from 1948 to the present voter turnout in Tennessee in Presidential elections has been on the increase. In the last four Presidential elections (1960-1972), voter turnout has been above 50 per cent. In addition, voter turnout in gubernatorial elections has improved in recent elections (1962-1970), but this still keeps Tennessee in the 30 to 40 per cent range.

Political Culture

Daniel Elazar has examined the political cultures that are found in the several states.²⁵ He contends that the political culture of the United States is itself a synthesis of three major political subcultures--the individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic. In an individualistic political culture, government is popularly conceived of as a marketplace in which policies emerge from the bargaining of individuals and groups acting out of self-interest. Governmental intervention in matters regarded as private (e.g., business enterprise) is limited, politics is viewed only as a tool for individual social and economic improvement, political parties seek to control office primarily to distribute rewards to party loyalists, and political activity is carried on by professional politicians. In a moralistic political culture, people believe that government exists to advance the shared interest of all citizens rather than their separate private interest. Since government exists to advance the shared public interest, it is believed that every citizen should participate. A traditionalistic political culture is based on a paternalistic and elitist conception of government. Political power is reserved for a small and

self-perpetuating elite with a "right" to govern because of family or social position, the role of government is to preserve the established social order, the preference is for a single political party (often divided into factions) that merely fills public positions with persons sympathetic to elitist policies, and the average citizen is not expected to participate in politics (not even to vote) but accept passively the will of the ruling oligarchy.

According to Elazar, most of Tennessee is best classified as traditionalistic. But the Appalachian area in the eastern and southeastern part of the state is a mixture of traditionalistic and moralistic. It remains to be seen if the growing urbanization, and the changes in Tennessee politics that have occurred in the 1960s, will move the state away from the strong traditionalistic tendencies of the past.

Political Personalities

The need for flood control on the Tennessee River, the general poverty of the area, the constant threat of soil erosion, and the desire for electric power were important considerations in the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee through his vigorous support and cooperation with Senator George Norris ("Father of TVA") had an important role in bringing the TVA project into being in 1933. Senator McKellar served in the U.S. Senate from 1916 to 1952. During this time he was both supported and opposed by the most prominent political boss in Tennessee's history, Mayor Ed Crump of Memphis. Senator McKellar's defeat in 1952 by Congressman Albert Gore was generally attributed to two factors: lack of support from Crump and advancing age.

Mayor Crump of Memphis was able to maintain his political machine in Memphis when other city bosses throughout the nation (1930s and 40s) were on the decline. Crump was the strongest Democrat in the state and was closely allied with the Roosevelt administration at the national level. In part, Mayor Crump had been able to retain his machine because it provided firm and efficient government in Memphis, one which was unblemished by scandal. That is not to say, however, that Crump was above using questionable political tactics. In fact, his machine was frequently accused of purchasing blocs of votes among the blacks and poor of Memphis and including on registration lists many names allegedly copied from tombstones.²⁶ Governor Jim Nance McCord (1945-1949) was closely aligned with the Crump machine at the state level during much of the period immediately after World War II. The Crump era came to an end in the election of 1948.

Estes Kefauver of Chattanooga, who had made an outstanding record as a liberal in Congress, was a candidate in the Democratic primary for the U.S. Senate in 1948. Kefauver's candidacy was opposed by Crump who accused Kefauver of being pro-Communist. Indeed, one of Crump's statewide advertisements referred to Kefauver as a "pet coon" of the Communists. This strategy backfired when Kefauver turned the statement around by creating the slogan that he would not be Crump's "pet coon." The Crump candidates for the U.S. Senate (John A. Mitchell) and the governorship (Jim Nance McCord) were both defeated in the Democratic primary of 1948. Gordon Browning who was not supported by Crump won the Democratic nomination for the governorship and Kefauver was successful in the senatorial race. In fairness to ex-Governor McCord, some political observers believe his introduction of an unpopular 2 per cent sales tax as a means of financing public education in 1947 was the primary reason for his third term defeat.

Frank Clement, a young lawyer, defeated Gordon Browning when he ran for a third two-year term as governor in 1952. A constitutional convention was held in 1953 and the Governor's term was increased to four years. In the election of 1954, Frank Clement was re-elected to a four-year term. The more noteworthy accomplishments of his first term (1953-54) were: (1) the supplying of free textbooks in all 12 grades of the public schools, (2) improved mental health programs, (3) an Industrial Development Division was created, (4) legislative investigations were made of all textbooks in use in higher education as well as lower education, but no texts with Communist leanings were uncovered. During Clement's second term (1955-59) the two per cent sales tax was expanded to three per cent which made possible further improvements in educational financing. After sitting out a term (1959-1963), Frank Clement was again elected to the governorship in the election of 1962. During this term (1963-67) he broadened the application of the three per cent sales tax (utility bills) and provided a \$1,000 increase in the state teachers salary schedule. In addition, large increases in funds for higher education were provided. The extension of the sales tax was apparently one of the chief factors for the defeat of Clement when he ran for the U.S. Senate in 1964.

Buford Ellington served two terms as Governor (1959-1963 and 1967-1971). He was more resistant to teacher pay increases than was Governor Clement. During his first administration teacher pay increases on the state salary schedule averaged about \$100 per year. During his second administration, he was more sympathetic to increased funding for education but the legislature refused to adopt his tax increase proposals. Even so, Tennessee was able to advance to the rank of 15th among the states in the percentage of state funds appropriated for public education (1969). The state

still ranked 46th, however, in amount of support from federal, state, and local funds, due largely to meager local support.

We have previously noted the recent success of Republicans in the political arena. In addition to Baker and Brock in the U.S. Senate, Winfield Dunn became the first Republican governor in 50 years in the gubernatorial election of 1970.

Summarizing our brief treatment of the political culture of Tennessee, the following points have been made: (1) Tennessee can be classified as a "modified one-party Democratic state," but the current trend points toward a two-party state and a more even balance between the two major parties; (2) voter turnout has been low in general, though turnout in recent presidential elections has shown marked improvement; (3) the political culture of Tennessee according to Elazar is essentially traditionalistic with a mixture of traditionalistic and moralistic being present in the Appalachian regions; and (4) noteworthy political personalities have included: Senator Kenneth McKellar (TVA), Mayor Ed Crump ("Bossism") of Memphis, Governors Frank Clement and Buford Ellington who controlled the governor's chair from 1952 until 1971 (Democrats); and the rise of new Republicans, Senators Howard Baker and William Brock and Governor Winfield Dunn.

SECTION II

STRUCTURE FOR STATE EDUCATION POLICY MAKING

We now turn to a brief description of the formal structure of state government in Tennessee. The Governor's office and the legislature constitute part of this structure. These instrumentalities affect education as they do other public functions in the state. In addition, we shall look at the State Board of Education, the State Commissioner of Education, and the State Department of Education. These three are often referred to as the state education agency.

Tennessee Legislature

The legislative authority of Tennessee is vested in the General Assembly, which consists of a Senate and House of Representatives. In general, the function of the legislature is to make the laws of Tennessee. Some of the specific powers granted to the General Assembly by the State Constitution include: the appropriation of all monies to be paid out of the State Treasury; arrangements for the levying and collection of taxes; and to make provisions whereby counties and incorporated towns can levy taxes.²⁷

Members of the Senate are elected for four-year terms, while members of the House of Representatives serve two-year terms. The House of Representatives is composed of 99 members, a limit set by the Constitution. The number of Senators may not exceed one-third the number of Representatives. In 1972-73, the number of Senators was at the maximum, 33. To qualify as

a member of the General Assembly, a person must be: (1) a citizen of the United States, (2) a citizen of Tennessee for at least three years, and (3) a resident of the county or district he represents for at least one year. Along with these common requirements, a Representative must be 21 years of age and a Senator must be at least 30.

The General Assembly convenes in organizational session on the first Tuesday in January of each year and in regular session on the fourth Tuesday in February and may, by joint resolution, recess or adjourn until such time or times as it shall determine. Regular legislative sessions are limited to 45 days, but the legislature may be convened in extraordinary sessions at other times by the request of the Governor or by the presiding officers of both houses at the request of two-thirds of the members of each house. Each house chooses a speaker and such other officers as are necessary and determines its own rules of procedure. Two-thirds of all members of each house constitutes a quorum for conducting business.

Party representation in the House and Senate has become more balanced over the years. In the General Assembly in 1971-72, the party division was as follows:

House:	Democratic Party = 56 Seats
	Republican Party = 43 Seats
	American Party = 0 Seats
	Total = 99 Seats
Senate:	Democratic Party = 19 Seats
	Republican Party = 13 Seats
	American Party = 1 Seat
	Total = 33 Seats

For the 1972-73 legislative session there had been a four seat Republican gain in the House of Representatives, while the Senate party alignment remained the same as for 1971-72.

The Speaker in both houses holds a very powerful position. He presides over the House, recognizes members, and refers bills to committees. He appoints all members to committees and designates their chairmen. A point worth noting here is that seniority is not used as a basis for selecting committee chairmen.

The heart of any legislative body is found in its system of standing committees. Bills that receive approval of these committees are likely to be passed. A long standing problem with the committee system in Tennessee has been the large number of committees. At one time there were 46 in the House and 35 in the Senate. In recent years the number of standing committees has been reduced to 11 in the House and 8 in the Senate. Traditionally, the three committees that have handled the greatest volume of bills have been (1) the Judiciary Committee, (2) the Finance, Ways and Means Committee, and (3) the Education Committee. According to the legislators interviewed for this study, the three committees that have the greatest impact on education legislation are: (1) the Education Committee, (2) the Finance, Ways and Means Committee and (3) the Committee on Calendar and Rules. This held true in both houses of the General Assembly.

During the 87th General Assembly (1971-72), the Education Committee in the House had 23 members, 13 Democrats and 10 Republicans. The Senate Education Committee had 11 members, 6 Democrats and 5 Republicans. The Finance, Ways and Means Committee in the House had 22 members, 12 Democrats and 10 Republicans. The Senate Finance, Ways and Means Committee had 11 members, 7 Democrats and 4 Republicans. Thus, all the vital education committees in both houses had a Democratic Party majority.

The effectiveness of legislative committees is, of course, highly dependent upon the amount and quality of staff and facilities available to the committees. The Tennessee legislature is not favored in this regard.

The committees in each house are provided (in total) with the services of about 20 employees who serve in the various capacities of Legal Analyst, Bill Clerk, Indexing Clerk or Writer, File Clerk, and Assistant File Clerk.²⁸ The working arrangements are rather informal, and it is doubtful whether any committee has enough staff to do its job properly. Much of the staff is part-time, and/or drawn from other departments when the legislature is in session.

The staff support for the legislature is coordinated through the Legislative Council Committee. The principal function of the Council staff is to perform research work and to develop existing facts on problems of state government referred to it by the General Assembly for study. The Council is composed of the Speaker of the Senate and Speaker of the House as ex-officio members, together with eight Senators appointed by the Speaker of the Senate, and fourteen Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House, making a total membership of 24. The membership of the Council is divided up among the three grand divisions of the state and at least five members must be from the minority party.

The compensation for Tennessee legislators in 1970 was \$4,050 per annum (recently increased to \$5,515). In 1970 Tennessee ranked 34th among the fifty states in this regard. Low salary, limited staff support, and the short length of sessions contribute to the non-professional image of the Tennessee legislature. John Grumm's 'professionalism' index of state legislatures constructed in 1970 supports this observation. It was based on five factors: (1) legislators' compensation; (2) expenditures for staff; (3) number of bills introduced; (4) length of the sessions (calendar days); and (5) legislative services score taken from the Citizens Conference. The Tennessee legislature ranked 42nd among the fifty states on the professionalism scale.²⁹ But the Tennessee legislature did rank somewhat higher (26th) on

the Citizens Conference rankings of state legislatures on its index of "technical effectiveness."³⁰ This measure included the following criteria: (1) functional, (2) accountable, (3) informed, (4) independent, and (5) representative.

As one examines the structure of the Tennessee General Assembly, it is difficult to distinguish between the House and Senate. Both houses have a Speaker, who is largely in control, both houses have similar standing committees, and both houses draw from the same reservoir of research support. This condition has led one critic to suggest that Tennessee would be better off with a unicameral structure.³¹

In summary, the structure and organization of both houses of the Tennessee legislature are very similar. The legislature suffers from a comparatively low salary scale, short sessions, and inadequate staffing. The legislature is not ranked high on Grumm's index of "professionalism" (42nd), but it is viewed somewhat more positively by the Citizens Conference as to "technical effectiveness" (26th). The committee structure has been improved in recent years, with a reduction of the large number of committees that existed in the past. Finally, the Democrats are in control of the committees that handle most education legislation.

Tennessee Governor

The Tennessee constitutional requirements for the position of Governor are: (1) 30 years of age; (2) citizen of the United States; and (3) citizen of Tennessee for seven years preceding his election. The Tennessee Governor is elected to a four-year term and cannot succeed himself. This provision casts the Governor in a "lame duck" position from the day he enters office. The Governor in Tennessee is paid a salary of \$30,000 (increased to \$50,000 in 1973) and is furnished an official residence and expenses for its operation.

The constitution of Tennessee places tremendous responsibility on the Governor. "The supreme executive power of this state shall be vested in the Governor." He is required to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." This responsibility, if interpreted to mean active supervision by the Governor, would seem to require that he have authority to control the administrative machinery of the state. Yet the constitution does not give him that authority. Virtually all the Governor's power comes to him as grants from the legislature. The legislature, however, has been unusually generous in granting power to the chief executive. The heads of all the principal departments, both line and auxillary, are appointed by the Governor and may be removed at his pleasure. Legislative confirmation is not required for either of these actions. Furthermore, the Governor's preferences may be expected to prevail in respect to lesser appointments. These preferences are limited somewhat by a weak state merit system. With appointive powers of this nature one can see why the Governor is the central figure in the state's administrative system.

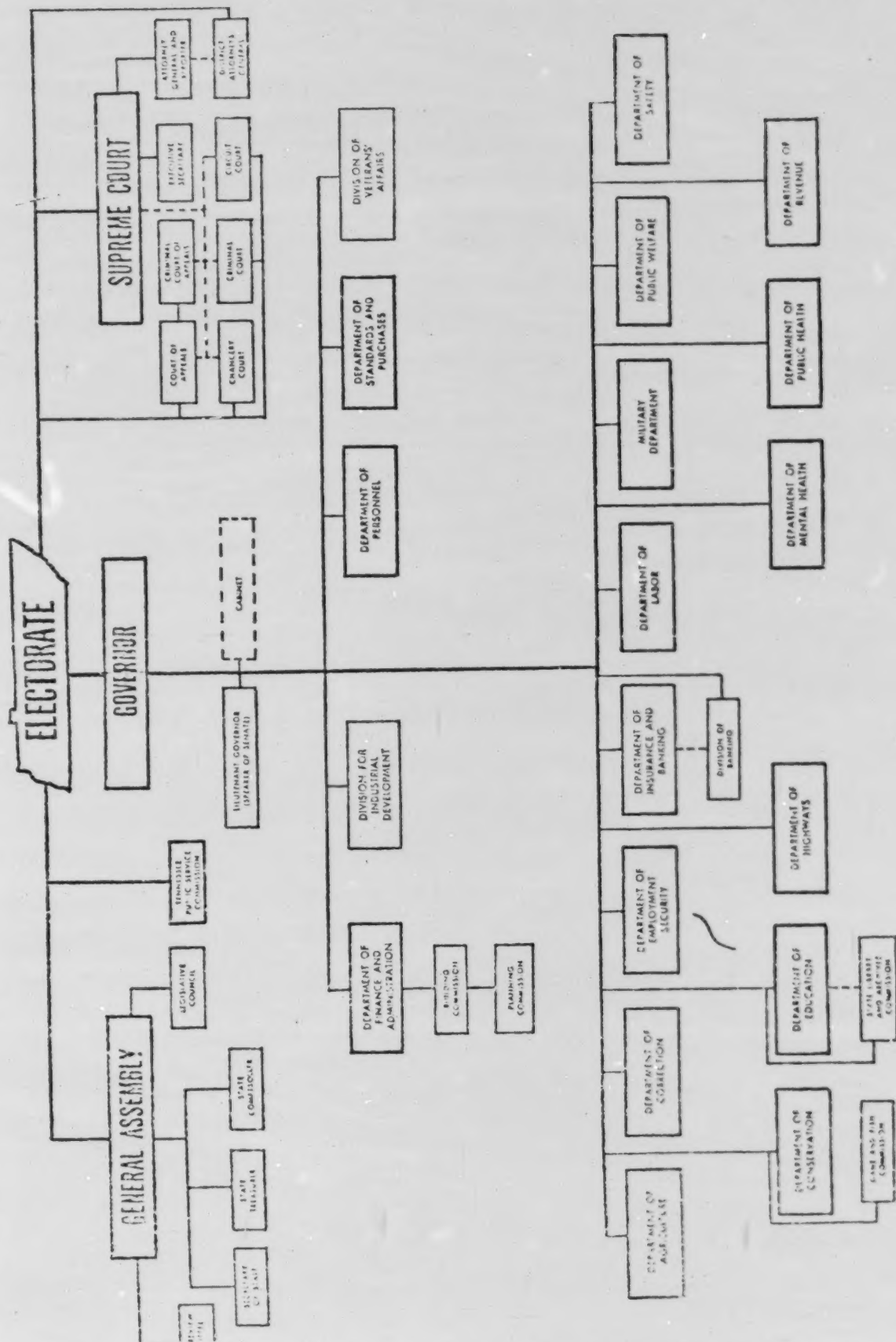
Joseph Schlesinger has constructed an index for assessing the formal powers of the state governors.³² Scores on the four indicators that make up this index (ranging from 1, low to 5, high) assigned to the Tennessee Governor are: (1) tenure potential--3; (2) appointive powers--5; (3) budget powers--5; and (4) veto power--4. The Tennessee Governor received 17 out of a possible 20 points. This ranked the Tennessee Governor slightly above the national average of 15 points. Tenure potential for the Governor in Tennessee is weakened by the fact that he cannot succeed himself in office. And his veto power is weakened by the fact that it can be overridden by a simple majority of both houses. On the other hand, Schlesinger found that the appointive powers of the Tennessee Governor were the strongest of the 50 governors.

With the exception of three public utilities commissioners, the Secretary of State, the Treasurer, and the Comptroller all major state administrative positions are filled by the Tennessee Governor without the need for legislative approval.

The Governor appoints commissioners to head the various departments depicted in Figure 1. These commissioners report directly to him or to him through one of his staff members. One commissioner appointed by Governor Dunn explained the need for broad executive appointive powers in this manner: "The Governor is elected on a program platform. It is accepted that if he is to deliver on his promises he must be able to select those people that will assist him in carrying out his program."

While the General Assembly has the sole authority to pass laws and the courts of the state have the sole authority to try cases, the Governor has considerable influence in both areas. The Governor is expected to recommend legislation and has the authority to veto legislative enactments that in his judgment are not in the best interest of all citizens. And he has the right to grant executive clemency--the power to grant reprieves and pardons, after conviction--except in cases of impeachment.

The Governor has great potential for influence in the educational arena. He appoints the Commissioner of Education and State Board of Education members, and serves as an ex-officio member of the State Board. In addition to the official Department of Education, Governor Dunn relies heavily on two of his own personal staff people: Lee Smith, Counsel to the Governor, and Leonard Bradley, Special Assistant for Policy Planning. The Governor's Commissioner of Finance and Administration, Ted Welch, is also involved in budgetary matters concerning education.



BASIC ORGANIZATION CHART OF TENNESSEE STATE GOVERNMENT

Figure 1

Tennessee State Board of Education

The State Board of Education in Tennessee consists of twelve members appointed by the Governor. Both the Governor and the Commissioner of Education are ex-officio members of the State Board, the Commissioner serving as chairman of that body. The State Board of Education has two main functions:

(1) It is the regulatory and policy-making body for public elementary and secondary education; and (2) It is the governing body for the state special schools, the statewide educational television network, and technical and vocational educational programs.³³

Members of the State Board of Education are appointed by the Governor to serve staggered nine year terms. Each of the three grand divisions is represented by four appointive members, and each of the two leading political parties by at least three members among the 12 appointees. The Board holds regular quarterly meetings in February, May, August, and November. The primary duties of the State Board include:

1. Making regulations for classification and operation of the system for grades 1-12, prescribing curricula, and approving courses of study adopted by local boards.
2. Adopting a minimum uniform salary schedule for teachers in grades 1-12, as provided by law.
3. Exercising complete control over the issuance of teacher certificates.
4. Adopting state plans for federally-aided programs, including: vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, surplus property, educational television, the school lunch program and educational projects authorized by the National Defense Education Act of 1958.
5. Reporting, through its chairman (Commissioner) to the Governor for transmission to the General Assembly, on the operation and conditions of the public schools, with such recommendations as the board or chairman may deem advisable.
6. Administering federal funds to the public schools.³⁴

In dealing with vocational education and vocational rehabilitation, the Board becomes the State Board for Vocational Education. In that capacity,

it selects the department's staff members for the two divisions, sets the policies, and regulates their operations. As the Board for Vocational Education, it has authority over, maintains, and operates the area vocational-technical schools and the regional technical schools.

Compensation for Board members is set at \$15.00 per day for all regular and called meetings of the Board, and for all committee work assigned by the Board, plus travel. In contrast to state boards in many other states, professional educators are not excluded from serving on the State Board in Tennessee. In fact, in 1972 the Board had among its 12 members; a county school superintendent, an assistant superintendent of schools, an elementary school principal, and two professors from state-supported universities.

Tennessee Commissioner of Education

The Commissioner of Education in Tennessee is a member of the Governor's Cabinet, chairman and a voting member of the State Board of Education, and Executive Officer of the State Department of Education. The law requires that the Commissioner be a person with experience in school administration, and qualified to teach in the highest school over which he has authority. He is appointed by the Governor, to serve at the Governor's pleasure for a term not to exceed that of the Governor who appointed him.³⁵ The salary of the Commissioner of Education as of July 1, 1972 was set at \$25,000 (recently increased to \$31,000).

The Commissioner, by virtue of his office, has a multitude of roles, duties, and responsibilities. Since the establishment of the University Board of Regents on July 1, 1972, he has been relieved of responsibility for higher education. This has created a situation where the Commissioner is able to focus all of his efforts on the K-12 educational program including vocational education in the state. These duties include:

1. Seeing that the state's school laws and the Board's regulations are executed.
2. Distributing school funds as provided by law, and protecting those funds from loss, misappropriation, or illegal use.
3. Directing the staff of the department in supervision of the schools.
4. Collecting and publishing statistics and other information regarding school.
5. Requiring in-service training for teachers.
6. Printing and distributing school laws among school administrators.
7. Preparing and distributing report forms and requiring all public school officers to make detailed reports annually; and submitting an annual report to the Governor, giving detailed account of his official acts for the past fiscal year and including a full statistical account of the receipts and disbursements of the public school funds, the condition and progress of the schools and his recommendations for improvement of the system.³⁶

As an ex-officio member and chairman of the State Board of Education, the Commissioner of Education has the power to vote on all questions coming before the Board. He also is executive officer of the State Board of Vocational Education and has the power to vote on all questions coming before that body. It should be noted that although there are legally two boards--the Board of Education and the Board of Vocational Education--they consist of the same membership and the same chairman. The situation is complicated by the fact that the Commissioner is empowered to appoint, subject to the approval of the Governor, all heads and subordinates in the departments and divisions of the State Department except appointments for the divisions of vocational education and rehabilitation. These last appointments are made by the Board of Vocational Education. Thus, a condition is created whereby the directors in the vocational education division do not report to the Commissioner. Instead, these directors report directly to the Vocational Board (which, as has been said, has the same membership as the State Board of Education). This lack of managerial control on the part of the Commissioner in

the area of vocational education is clearly a source of weakness for that office, a condition, we understand, that is now being modified.

Tennessee State Department of Education

The State Department of Education (SDE) is organized to function as a unit, coordinating the activities of the various educational programs which the Commissioner administers. The organization, as of 1972, includes the central office and six divisions: (1) Finance and Administration, (2) Vocational Education, (3) Vocational Rehabilitation, (4) Instruction, (5) Library and Archives, and (6) General Services.³⁷

The upper level administration of the Department of Education consists of a State Commissioner and a Deputy Commissioner as well as six Assistant Commissioners. The Department serves as both administrative and coordinating agency, it distributes school funds and sees that state laws and regulations are carried out in the expenditure of those funds and in operation of the schools. As a coordinating agency, the Department has traditionally interacted with local schools, colleges and universities, and prior to July of 1972, the SDE helped govern, through its division of Higher Education, the state colleges and universities outside of the University of Tennessee system. The new Board of Regents now governs these institutions.

The State Department of Education is one of the major division of state government and has experienced significant growth in recent years. If one counts all professionals employed by the SDE--including those for special schools, museums, archives, vocational and vocational rehabilitation--its professional personnel number in excess of 900.³⁸ Factors that have contributed to the growth of the Department include increased state financing and responsibility, and the tremendous influx of federal programs throughout the 1960s. The state's financial support of K-12 education has risen from about 60 million in 1950 to 245 million in 1972.

A very important aspect of the Tennessee State Department of Education is that the Governor actually has control over the Department. The policies and programs of the State Department must be in agreement with his ideas and programs for he has the power to alter the programs or replace the people who direct them. It must be remembered that the Commissioner serves at the pleasure of the Governor, and all division appointments (except Vocational and Vocational Rehabilitation) are subject to the Governor's approval. The State Department of Education in Tennessee works for the Governor's office, not in cooperation with, as is more common in other states.

One of the chief criticisms of the Department's organization until 1973 was the inordinate number of assistants and subordinates who reported directly to the Commissioner. According to the formal organization chart in 1970, 13 subordinates reported directly to the Commissioner's office. The current Commissioner (Benjamin Carmichael) reorganized the Department in 1973, which reduced the number of subordinates (6) who report directly to the Commissioner.³⁹

A recent study on the characteristics of upper level administrators in 12 state departments of education revealed the following about SDE administrators in Tennessee.⁴⁰ Their average age was 50.4 years and all of them were white; 84 per cent of them attended graduate school in the state of Tennessee and the same percentage were recruited from positions within the state; 42 per cent of them were recruited from non-education positions, which was the highest percentage for any of the 12 states in the study; and Tennessee SDE administrator salaries were the lowest among the 12 states in the study. A more complete listing of these comparative findings is shown in Table 5.

In summary, the state legislature, the Governor, the State Board of Education, the Commissioner of Education, and the State Department of Education are the formal agencies or offices for state-level policy making for

TABLE 5

TENNESSEE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
UPPER LEVEL ADMINISTRATORS COMPOSITE PROFILE
(N=19)

Variables	Characteristic	Percent or Mean	12 State Ranking
<u>Personal</u>			
1. Sex	Male	100	1
2. Race	White	100	1
3. Average Age (Years)	--	50.4	5
<u>Background</u>			
4. Location of Birth	Instate	68	5
5. K-12 Schooling-Community Size	10,000 or Less	74	3
6. K-12 Schooling-Community Type	Rural	68	3
7. Mobility (Permanent Addresses)	Three States or More	21	9
<u>Education</u>			
8. Location of Undergraduate Institution	Instate	74	4
9. Location of Graduate Institution	Instate	84	1
10. Highest Graduate Degree	Doctorate	21	10
<u>Previous Experience</u>			
11. In Higher Education	Yes	21	10
12. As a Public School Superintendent	Yes	21	10
13. Size & Type of School District	Rural under 1000	26	8
<u>Recruited From:</u>			
14. Higher Education Position	Yes	10	9
15. Public School Administration	Yes	26	10
16. Non-Education Position	Yes	42	1
17. Location of Position	Instate	84	5
<u>SDE Career</u>			
18. Average Years with the SDE	--	11.8	3
19. Average Years at Current Position	--	5.4	6
<u>Salaries and Reactions</u>			
20. Salary Range	More than \$22,000	5	12
21. Salary Comparison (with others in my state)	Same or Better than Most	79	4
22. Chance to Use Abilities	Excellent	53	3
23. Adequacy of Legislative Fiscal Support for SDE Programs	Half or More of the Programs	89	1

SOURCE: Gary V. Branson, "The Characteristics of Upper Level Administrators in State Departments of Education and the Relationships of These Characteristics to Other State Variables," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1974.

the public schools in Tennessee. But policy is influenced by more than formal structures and actors as will be noted in later portions of this report.

SECTION III

PROCESS OF STATE EDUCATIONAL POLICY MAKING--THE ISSUE AREAS

We selected four educational issue areas to permit our examination of the system of educational policy making in Tennessee. These are school finance, administrator certification, school desegregation, and the relationship between the Governor and the Commissioner of Education. The finance issue, it was felt, would give us our best opportunity to look at the system with all of the actors participating. Certification was chosen as a means of viewing the system when the decision-making process is essentially within the educational arena. Desegregation represented the best opportunity to see the impact of the courts on the system. The most important issue in the governance of education in Tennessee during 1972 involved the relationship between the Governor and his Commissioner of Education. Therefore, it was included as an issue worthy of consideration in this report.

While examination of action in these areas does not provide a complete understanding of the educational policy-making system in Tennessee, it does permit us to look at many policy actors and the relationships among them.

School Finance

General Background

Before considering the specific school finance issue in Tennessee in 1972 (i.e., the financing of a statewide kindergarten program), it is

important to describe some of the general features of the school finance system in the state. Nearly every state, including Tennessee, bases the financing of its elementary and secondary schools on some combination of local property taxes and state aid. In Tennessee, schools are financed jointly by state aid, local funds, and federal grants.

State funds, which account for 45.4 per cent of the funds appropriated for education, come from two major sources--earmarked and unearmarked funds. The earmarked funds (87 per cent of the 45.4) are established in the revenue laws of the state. In the statutes certain percentages of the tobacco tax and the sales and use tax are earmarked for education. Regardless of the amount collected by these taxes, the percentage specified by law must and does go to support the schools. The earmarked taxes, however, have never provided enough money to meet the necessary appropriation for education. Therefore, in addition to earmarked funds, a portion of the general fund must be used for school support. These are known as the "unearmarked" funds for education.

Tennessee is not a wealthy state; hence, its ability to finance education is quite limited. Personal income per child of school age is perhaps the best single indicator of "ability to finance education." Tennessee ranks 37th among the fifty states on this measure, with a dollar figure of \$13,223 (1972).⁴¹ This amount does not compare favorably with the U.S. average of \$16,392. Nor is the "effort" made by Tennesseans to support elementary and secondary education as high as that of many states. More specifically, Tennesseans spent 4.4 per cent of their personal income in 1971-72, ranking them 35th among state populations, to support current expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools.⁴²

The relative financial contribution made by the state, local and federal governments for public elementary and secondary schools for 1971-72, when compared to the United States average, is shown in Table 6. These figures indicate that Tennesseans received a higher percentage of federal financial assistance than did most states (only seven states receive a greater percentage). It can also be seen that the percentage of state contribution is higher than the U.S. average, and that the local government contribution is substantially less than the U.S. average.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF TENNESSEE'S SCHOOL FINANCES FROM STATE, LOCAL, AND FEDERAL SOURCES COMPARED TO UNITED STATES AVERAGES

Sources	Tennessee's Percentage	U.S. Averages
State Government	45.4	40.9
Local Government	41.3	52.0
Federal Government	13.3	7.1

SOURCE: NEA Rankings of the States, 1972.

County and local sources of revenue account for 41.3 per cent of the education expenditures.⁴³ Countywide taxes account for 83 per cent of the 41.3 per cent, this being derived chiefly from property tax (two-thirds). The balance is from motor vehicle registration, local option sales tax, cigarette and tobacco taxes, and other miscellaneous sources. The remaining 17 per cent of local funds are derived from local district sources, chiefly additional property taxes.

Tennessee ranks near the bottom nationally and regionally in terms of the expenditure of dollars per pupils in average daily attendance. (See Table 7.)

Tennessee employs a Strayer-Haig-Mort type of school finance allocation formula. In 1971-72 state funds distributed for the public schools amounted to \$246,180,300.⁴⁴ Some nine per cent of this money was distributed on a flat grant basis. The remaining 91.2 per cent was distributed through the state equalization formula. This formula included: salaries of teachers (including administrators and clerks); travel allowances for superintendents and special education teachers; transportation (minimum of \$10.00 per pupil transported); maintenance and operation (\$11.00 per ADA); instructional material (\$2.00 per ADA); salary supplement for each county superintendent (95 of them); and a few other miscellaneous items.⁴⁵ Over 88 per cent of the equalization formula allocation was expended for teacher salaries.

Thomas L. Johns et. al. in their book, Status and Impact of Educational Finance Programs, ranked the states according to the equalization factor in their finance formulas. Their equalization score did not take into consideration such important factors as financial adequacy of the program, incentive to local initiative, quality of education, educational outputs, and other important matters. Instead, the equalization score should be interpreted as measuring only the extent that state and local funds are being used to equalize the financial resources available for education in a state. According to the National Education Finance Project (NEFP), Tennessee ranked (1968-69) 35th nationally, and 10th among the Southeastern states.⁴⁶ The relatively low ranking of Tennessee stemmed from the distribution of much of its formula allocation on the basis of teacher units without consideration for the relative wealth of individual districts.

A crude measure of educational finance disparity among the districts of a state is the ratio between the high and low district. Tennessee fares much better on this measure. In 1969-70 the highest district expenditure

was \$774 and the lowest was \$315.⁴⁷ The ratio between these two figures is 2.43 which is not very high when compared with the ratios of such states as Texas 20.20 and Wyoming 23.55. Tennessee has 146 school districts, 93 of these are county districts, 51 are city districts and 2 metro-districts (includes both city and county) are in operation in Davidson and Montgomery Counties.

TABLE 7
ESTIMATED CURRENT EXPENDITURES FOR
THE SOUTHEASTERN STATES, 1971-72

State	Current Expenditures Per Pupil in ADA*	Rank in the		Total Annual Current Expenditures**
		Nation	Southeast	
New York	\$1,468.00	1	--	\$4,645,405,000
50 States & D.C.	929.00**	National	Average	39,589,764,000
Virginia	875.00	23	1	880,450,000
Louisiana	867.00	25	2	681,280,000
Florida	850.00	29	3	1,153,614,000
Georgia	788.00	35	4	789,377,000
Southeast	736.00	Southeast	Average	6,907,837,000
West Virginia	713.00	39	5	264,335,000
South Carolina	700.00	42	6	414,050,000
North Carolina	695.00	44	7	758,009,000
TENNESSEE	659.00	45	8	559,737,000
Kentucky	650.00	46	9	434,000,000
Mississippi	634.00	47	10	312,464,000
Arkansas	601.00	49	11	250,000,000
Alabama	543.00	50	12	410,521,000

*ADA = Average Daily Attendance

**Current expenditures include all expenses of operating schools except debt service and capital outlay.

***Figure for national average per pupil expenditure does not include late revision of California figure.

In summary, Tennessee public and elementary education is financed by a combination of state, local, and federal funds. The percentage of funds provided by the state is relatively high, but total expenditures for education are not high when compared with other states. Tennesseans at the local level have been reluctant to increase funding for education. The state government's attitude has been that it is carrying as much of the burden as it can afford, given limited tax resources. Together these factors act as a major obstacle to large financial increases in school support. The Tennessee minimum foundation formula, while distributing over 90 per cent of the funds on an equalization basis, does not rank high in its equalization effect chiefly because it ignores local ability. Even so, in terms of expenditure disparity between districts, Tennessee's condition is favorable compared with other states.

The Statewide Kindergarten Program

When Winfield Dunn campaigned for the gubernatorial office in 1970, he pledged to fulfill a commitment to early childhood education by achieving full implementation of a statewide kindergarten program. Once in office, Governor Dunn included in his budget proposal to the legislature a \$17,000,000 appropriation for kindergarten programs (to include both capital outlay and operational expense).

The response to Governor Dunn's proposal was different from what one would expect in light of the fact that there appeared to be widespread support for such a program. Somehow, Governor Dunn's \$17,000,000 proposal got tangled in a web of controversy involving three principal actors: the Governor, the legislature, and the Tennessee Education Association (TEA). Besides these, the business community played a role in the early deliberation of this issue.

The statewide kindergarten program in Tennessee had its roots in 1945 legislation that allowed the investment of local or federal money in schools for children under six. But from 1945 to 1960 state funds were not legally available for kindergartens. The first state aid (\$60,000) came in 1965 for a pilot kindergarten program. State aid was increased to \$960,000 in 1970-71. This set the stage for Governor Dunn's proposal to the 1971 legislature. The funding source for the kindergarten program was to be a one-half cent increase in the state sales tax. The controversy surrounding Governor Dunn's proposal had three distinct phases:

Phase One. Governor Dunn's original proposal called for a one-half cent increase in the sales tax coupled with a broadened tax base. It was hoped that the one-half cent increase would generate revenue for education in excess of \$31,000,000. To do this, the tax base had to be enlarged to include such things as a gasoline tax increase, a service tax, a tax on private sales of automobiles, and a tax on commercial leases. Because such an expanded base affected various business concerns, legislators began to feel much pressure from their constituents to withdraw support for the proposal. This local pressure, along with the negative response by the Tennessee Tax Payers Association lobby, apparently caused the Governor to amend his bill so as to eliminate the need for an enlarged tax base. But to generate the same revenue, it was necessary for Dunn to amend his proposal so that it called for a full one cent sales tax increase on the existing base.

Phase Two. Governor Dunn's amended proposal pacified local businessmen and the Tennessee Tax Payers Association but it generated activity on another front. The amended one cent sales tax proposal produced conflict between the Democratic and Republican parties in the legislature. The Democrats

argued that a one-half cent increase only was needed to generate the funds required for the kindergarten program. Republican lawmakers, in support of the Republican Governor, countered that the one cent increase was a "must." A third party to the conflict, the Tennessee Education Association, proved to be the critical element in the determination of what was to follow. The TEA supported the kindergarten proposal. Its support, though, was clearly secondary to its desire for a teacher pay boost. Of the \$31,000,000 earmarked for educational purposes, \$17,000,000 was to go for an expansion of the existing kindergarten program, while \$13,000,000 was designated for the \$400.00 per teacher salary increase being sought by the TEA. The TEA officials recognized that the kindergarten proposal was a possible threat to the teacher pay increase. An informal deal (so say several legislators we interviewed and members of the Governor's staff) appears to have been made between the Democratic legislators and the TEA. The TEA was promised, in effect, that the \$13,000,000 teacher pay increase would be granted if that organization helped the Democrats to defeat the one cent sales tax increase proposed by Governor Dunn. If this were to happen, then Dunn would have to amend his proposal to a one-half cent increase in the sales tax (as the Democrats wanted), and this would cause the kindergarten proposal to suffer the brunt of the cutback. In the end, the one cent sales tax proposal was defeated in the General Assembly.

TEA officials were reluctant to view the defeat, and their limited support of the kindergarten proposal, as being related to the teacher salary request; instead, their spokesmen offered these explanations:

1. It would be very difficult to get enough teachers with the proper credentials and training for the new kindergarten classrooms.

2. The \$13,000,000 capital outlay portion of the kindergarten allocation would be better spent in reducing class size and in defraying other operational costs that had traditionally fallen within the purview of the state's responsibility.

"After all," one TEA official asserted, "capital outlay costs have traditionally been, and should continue to be, a local responsibility."

3. The essential difference between our position and that of the Governor as to the kindergarten proposal was over speed of implementation. We were supportive of the kindergarten issue within the limits imposed by available qualified teachers and available facilities. The Governor's proposal envisioned doing it in one year.

Phase Three. The one cent sales tax proposal having been defeated, Governor Dunn proposed his third bill (H.B. 453 and S.B. 385) which called for a one-half cent sales tax increase on the existing base. This measure satisfied the Democratic contingents in both House and Senate. It also had strong TEA backing, this organization knowing that a teacher pay boost was assured. By this time Governor Dunn was well aware of the TEA's doubts about the kindergarten proposal. The amended bill passed in the General Assembly. As it turned out, the teachers got their full \$400.00 pay increase and only \$3,281,900 was appropriated to the kindergarten program, this being for operational expenses only. This amount, it should be noted, represented only 20 per cent of Governor Dunn's original kindergarten budget proposal. Even after the General Assembly approved a kindergarten appropriation of \$3,281,900, Dunn himself reduced that amount--cutting the actual appropriation for kindergartens by \$1,600,000, leaving just \$1,681,900 for operational expenses.

Analysis. Governor Dunn's position on the implementation of a statewide kindergarten program was significant. He made a considerable effort to get funding for the proposed kindergarten budget through the General Assembly. His final action in reducing the kindergarten budget came only after his proposed \$17,000,000 had been slashed to slightly more than \$3,000,000, and he had become convinced that the possibility of implementing a statewide kindergarten program in 1971-72 was all but impossible.

While the role of the Governor on the kindergarten issue was important, it was overshadowed by that of the TEA and the Democratic legislator coalition. The Democratic majority in the General Assembly had recognized the need for co-opting the TEA because the powerful TEA lobby had been actively supporting Dunn's one cent sales tax increase, an increase that would have provided the needed revenue for the teacher pay raise and the Governor's kindergarten proposal. Action was therefore taken to tie the Democratic party and the TEA together on this issue. This was accomplished by Democratic party leaders promising teachers their pay raise in exchange for support in defeating Dunn's one cent sales tax increase. It should be noted here that the Democratic Party has nearly always controlled the General Assembly, and it was obviously not in the best interest of the TEA to alienate the leaders of that party.

Neither the State Department of Education nor the Commissioner of Education, E. C. Stimbert a Dunn-appointee, played significant roles in this conflict. The SDE administrators we interviewed indicated that the Department and Commissioner were supportive of the statewide kindergarten proposal. But aside from providing cost estimates to the Governor's office, they took no specific action to promote the Governor's proposal.

In 1969, the State Board of Education had approved official "Rules, Regulations and Minimum Standards for Kindergartens." But Board members, when interviewed about their role in the Governor's effort to bring about a statewide kindergarten program, generally replied that they did nothing beyond being sympathetic toward the program. As one member put it, "In all reality that was the Governor's ballgame."

Though the State Department of Education played almost no part in the legislative conflict, it made some attempts to move Tennessee toward a statewide kindergarten program. In 1971, the Department awarded 45 grants-in-aid for employed teachers to work toward kindergarten certification. Another 65 teachers were approved for grants-in-aid in 1972. In addition, the SDE conducted kindergarten workshops across the state. And SDE school plant personnel and early childhood supervisors worked closely with local schools in planning facilities for kindergarten classes.

In summary, a new Republican Governor was unable to advance a kindergarten proposal through a legislature that was controlled by the Democratic party. Along with TEA's concern for teacher salaries, it was not in that organization's interest to break traditional political loyalties in the legislature to gain favor with the party which had just secured control of the governorship. Given the recent success of the Republicans in state elections, TEA may soon find itself having to reassess this posture. An additional factor worth noting was the minimal role of the State Commissioner Stimbert. The previous Commissioner, Howard Warf, who had served under two Democratic governors, had been a master at legislative influence in the General Assembly. In fact, one informant suggested that he presented legislative "fait accomplis" to Democratic governors when they were only

"lukewarm" on certain programs. The relative inactive role of Commissioner Stimbert on Governor Dunn's kindergarten proposal was in marked contrast to the relationship between the Commissioner and the Governor that prevailed when Warf was Commissioner of Education.

What appeared to be at the heart of the controversy over the implementation of a statewide kindergarten program came down to the question, "Are Tennesseans willing to increase the total amount of money to be spent on education?" The kindergarten program proposal will continue to be stifled if it is seen as a choice between kindergartens or teacher pay increases. The powerful TEA will continue to support higher wages and lower class size as top priorities, and this does not augur well for an expanded kindergarten program if the school spending ceiling remains rather fixed.

Tennessee Desegregation

School desegregation in Tennessee has been relatively peaceful in recent years, although resistance to busing has caused some controversy, particularly in the larger cities. But while there has been continued advancement toward desegregation, progress has been slow and has taken place only in compliance with court orders, requirements of the Civil Rights Act, and regulations of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The percentage of blacks in desegregated schools was only 1 per cent in 1960 (6 years after the Brown decision). By 1964 this percentage had increased to 2.7 per cent. With the coming of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the pace accelerated substantially--primarily because the law contained a clause which forbade the use of federal funds by any public agency which practiced racial discrimination. The percentage of black students attending desegregated schools had jumped to 35 per cent by 1968.⁴⁸ And the school year 1969-70 was established as the tentative deadline for the total abolition of the dual school system in Tennessee.

Minority groups have not pressed the integration issue at the state level. This is perhaps due to the fact that there have been few, if any, signs of support at that level. The State Board of Education and the State Department of Education have not developed any desegregation plans or programs of their own. Since the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the focus of State Department efforts has been to help local districts comply with HEW guidelines. For this purpose, the State Commissioner of Education established in 1965 the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity which is financed by ESEA Title IV funds. In this connection, it might be noted that there has been some action directed at the State Department by minority groups concerning the small number of black professional employees in that agency.

The busing issue (referred to as "the yellow peril") has been the source of controversy throughout the state of Tennessee. The major cities of Nashville, Memphis, and Chattanooga have all been under court order in recent years to implement desegregation plans that meet both the letter and the spirit of the law. The establishment of the metro-school system in Nashville helped bring about desegregation in the schools of that city. The citizens of Memphis have expressed opposition to busing all along, yet a desegregation plan requiring busing was initiated in January of 1973 as a consequence of court action.

The controversy across the state stirred by busing plans has provided the major impetus for laws and resolutions passed by the General Assembly and the State Board of Education. The common thread through all of these laws and resolutions has been a strong anti-busing sentiment, and to a lesser degree an anti-federal government sentiment aimed primarily at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In addition, there has been continuing controversy over the role the courts are playing in school desegregation.

Action by the General Assembly has been directed toward preventing busing for the purpose of school desegregation. For example:

1. In 1971 the state legislature passed a law repealing compulsory school attendance if a child is refused attendance in a school nearer his residence having equivalent grade levels. This was an attempt to uphold the neighborhood school concept and to resist busing.
2. The legislature imposed a restriction in the 1972 Education Appropriations Bill by adding the following:

That the appropriations or any part thereof made under Section 1, Title III, Sub-section 8, entitled "Department of Education," shall not be used by any school or school district, for the purpose of transporting any children within the school district to any other than the school closest to their home, except as pertains to children enrolled in a special education course or when an overcrowding condition exists in such school or when curriculum of such school does not meet the needs of the child, or if the parents of the child give written permission.

3. In Section 49-2202 of the Tennessee Code, which deals with the transportation of students, the legislature added the following section in 1971-72:

No board of education shall use or authorize the use of any school transportation facilities for the use of achieving a racial balance or racial imbalance in any school by requiring the transportation of any student or pupil from one school to another or from one school district established for his neighborhood to another. If the local board of education adopts a transportation plan or directive for the purpose of achieving racial balance the governor may order that any or all parts of the state transportation funds shall be withheld from the local school board. If the governor so orders, the Commissioner of education and the state board of education shall withhold, or cause to be withheld, state transportation funds to local boards of education to the extent ordered by the governor.

These legislative enactments were clearly in opposition to the position taken by the courts and by the federal government. When the Memphis School System implemented its court-ordered integration plan, the state legislature reacted

by requesting the Commissioner of Education to conduct a full investigation of the busing situation in that area. This request carried with it the threat of enforcing Section 49-2202 of the Tennessee Code (referred to above), and undoubtedly reinforced the anti-busing sentiment of the general public.

The State Board of Education has also expressed its opposition to busing "to achieve racial balance in the classroom." In May of 1971 the State Board adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the Tennessee State Board of Education is dedicated to providing quality educational training to all Tennesseans regardless of race, color, or creed, and subscribes completely to the doctrine of integration of our total educational society with equal opportunity for all; and

WHEREAS, the Tennessee State Board of Education is supportive of complete compliance with the law, executive order, and judicial decree necessary in a regulated society; and

WHEREAS, forces in government and society now tend to press upon us a policy of busing students outside their residential neighborhoods to achieve a measure of racial balance in our schools; now, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Tennessee State Board of Education, while recognizing its obligation to obey the law does hereby express its belief that quality education can best be achieved in the pattern of neighborhood schools and that it deplores the efforts to bus Tennessee public school students outside their residential neighborhoods to achieve racial balance in the classroom.⁵¹

Members of the General Assembly and State Board of Education, when asked why these different laws and resolutions were passed, typically responded in this vein--"We realize that these laws will not hold up in court, but we must do something to show the people of the State that we are at least trying to avoid this busing." The Governor has not attempted to turn the busing issue into a "cause celebre" but he has made it clear in some of his speeches that he is opposed to busing for desegregation purposes.

The posture of officials in Tennessee on the question of school desegregation appeared to be very similar to that found in other parts of

the South. These officials have not taken strong steps to hinder desegregation. Most of the actions of the General Assembly and State Board have been symbolic in that little effort has been made to carry out the intent of the laws or resolutions. Such official actions, however, do tend to reinforce the attitudes of the general public and make change more difficult. By and large, the legislature has been more visible on the desegregation issue than has the State Board of Education. This is probably because legislators receive the bulk of citizen complaints, and because the State Board is not perceived as being very powerful by most citizens.

In summary, the desegregation issue in Tennessee is expressed at the state level in a series of laws and regulations that reflect adherence to the neighborhood school concept, extreme dislike for busing as a means of attaining desegregation, and minimal compliance with the spirit of the Brown Decision of 1954. On the positive side, the city officials of Nashville vigorously opposed the sporadic violence that sprang up when they instituted their desegregation plans. It should be noted that former Commissioner Warf (1963-71) took a strong position against any interference by the State Department with court orders or federal desegregation requirements.

Certification Issue

The Tennessee State Board of Education adopted a revised Administrative Certification Policy at its August, 1972 Board meeting. This policy changed the certification requirements of superintendents, principals, and supervisors in Tennessee's public elementary and secondary schools. A review of this issue offers insight into the role of different actors in the process of changing certification requirements: (1) when the demand for change originates outside the group entrusted with the responsibility for recommending certification changes; and (2) when the issue involves

substantial conflict among policy participants and very limited participation by those people most affected by the change (i.e., local school administrators).

The State Board of Education took final action on administrative certification only after nearly two years of clarification and exchange of views. The process appeared to follow a format of demand --> conflict --> compromise --> adoption. To understand this process, from demand to adoption, a chronological review is helpful. Prior to this review, however, it is important to define the structure for making certification policy changes.

Advisory Council on Teacher Education and Certification

The State Board of Education has been vested with the final responsibility for determining certification standards and regulations. To fulfill this responsibility, the State Board of Education receives recommendations from the Advisory Council on Teacher Education and Certification which is established by legislative statute (49-1240). This Advisory Council has been charged with responsibility for assisting the State Board of Education and its Chairman by submitting recommendations on (a) proposed changes to the State Board of Education for certification standards and regulations; (b) proposed new areas of certification or endorsement; (c) amendments to requirements and procedures of teacher preparation, and (d) such other matters as the Board may refer to the Council.⁵²

The Advisory Council is comprised of at least nineteen voting members. The membership of the Council is determined as follows:

- A. The following agencies of the teaching profession shall be represented by one member selected by the agency concerned to serve no less than three years: the Superintendents' Study Council, the Principals' Study Council, the Tennessee Association of Classroom Teachers, and the Tennessee Association of

Supervising Teachers. In addition there shall be three classroom teacher representatives who serve on the Administrative Council of the Tennessee Education Association.

- B. The following agencies shall be represented by one representative who may be nominated to the Chairman, State Board of Education by the chief executive thereof and shall serve at the pleasure of the agency represented:

The Tennessee Higher Education Commission
The State University and Community College System
The University of Tennessee

- C. There shall be one representative for each of four teacher preparation institutions, two of which shall be state supported and two private, independent, or church-related. The Chairman, State Board of Education shall designate the institutions on a rotational basis for staggered three year terms. He shall appoint a nominee from each institution, but no institution shall have more than one representative at any one time.
- D. Three representatives of the State Department of Education shall be designated as members.
- E. Those members who serve in an ex-officio capacity shall be changed as their assignments change.
- F. A regular member may be represented by a non-voting proxy.⁵³

The Advisory Council meets at least four times each year, usually approximately four weeks prior to the regular quarterly meeting of the State Board. Special sessions can be called, however, either by the Chairman of the Council or the Chairman of the State Board of Education. Matters to be considered by this Council may be submitted by the Chairman of the State Board, by the State Department of Education, or by professional study groups representing the teaching profession in Tennessee. Representatives of agencies preparing recommendations to the Advisory Council are given an opportunity to appear before the Council during one of its regular meetings.

Any item introduced before the Advisory Council is to be held over for consideration at least one session before a decision is reached. Recommendations are usually referred to the State Department of Education for

study, prior to any final decision. Decisions by the Advisory Council are in the form of recommendations to the State Board of Education. Members of the Advisory Council may meet with the Board to make presentations on such recommendations.

New Administrative Certification Requirements

In the late fall of 1970, the Chairman of the Advisory Council on Teacher Education and Certification, Dr. John Smith of the State Department of Education, received a document drawn up by the Tennessee Professors of Educational Administration and Supervision (TPEAS) recommending possible changes in the Tennessee certification regulations in the areas of administration and supervision. Dr. Smith, apparently feeling that the domain of the Advisory Council had been intruded upon, responded to this document by informing the President of TPEAS, Dr. Walter St. John, that there was a formal procedure to follow when presenting a set of recommendations. Dr. Smith outlined the formal procedures in his letter as follows:

1. A summary statement of the recommendation.
2. The need for the recommendations.
3. What is to be accomplished including the impact on the public schools.
4. The implications for present certification requirements and teacher education programs in institutions of higher education.
5. The groups that have received the proposal and their recommendations.
6. A proposed implementation schedule.

Dr. St. John answered by saying "there must be some mistake since we have not submitted a proposal for consideration, rather, we are preparing a formal proposal to submit in early January." This rather tart exchange of letters created a climate of anxiety that affected future developments.

TPEAS made their formal presentation to the Advisory Council in April of 1972. The rationale for their proposal contained the following points as revised slightly here:

1. The current requirements are not sufficient for the adequate preparation for the positions of superintendent, principal, or supervisor.
2. The recommended standards are more compatible with national trends toward more comprehensive preparation programs.
3. The proposed training levels and criteria are consistent with those recommended by such organizations of AASA, NCATE, and UCEA.
4. The proposed requirements require the present practitioner to keep current and discourage professional obsolescence.
5. Present administrators are either losing or are in danger of losing their positions of educational leadership.
6. The recommended proposal should result in prospective administrators receiving a better organized and a better coordinated program.
7. Greater cooperation and coordination should result between institutions of higher education and the State Department of Education.
8. The proposal creates increased flexibility in the specific requirements thus permitting tailor-made training for a specific individual.
9. In essence, the proposal should result in significantly improved management and enlightened leadership of the public schools of Tennessee.⁵⁴

The following recommendations were included in the TPEAS proposal.

1. Program Approval. All preparation programs for administrators and supervisors and the institutions providing these programs must be approved by the State Board of Education.
2. Recommendation by Institution. Certification shall be limited to individuals recommended by the institution where they completed their graduate work.
3. Reciprocity. Graduates of institutions outside of Tennessee, which at the time of the applicant's graduation are fully accredited by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, are eligible for administrative or supervisory

certification provided: (1) the applicant is recommended by the appropriate official of the institution; and (2) the applicant has completed that institution's NCATE-approved program; and (3) that the program must be at least a sixth-year program for candidates seeking the superintendent's endorsements and at least a fifth-year program for applicants for all other administrative and supervisory endorsements.

4. Direct Applications. The state certification agency shall not grant certificates based upon direct applications from individuals who do not have institutional recommendation, regardless of the amount of training or experience possessed by the applicant.
5. Separate Certificate. The present practice of adding endorsements in administration and supervision to the Teachers Professional Certificate will be discontinued. A separate certificate in Educational Administration and Supervision shall be issued.
6. Educational Work Experiences. Before recommending an applicant for certification, the institution shall verify that the student has completed a minimum of three years of appropriate educational work experience.
7. Superintendent's Endorsement. The applicant for a superintendent's endorsement shall have completed an approved sixth-year** program, with the major portion of his graduate preparation in areas that are clearly relevant for educational administration.
8. Principal's Endorsement. The applicant for a principal's endorsement shall have completed an approved fifth-year*** program, with the major portion of his graduate preparation in areas that are clearly relevant for educational administration and have completed at least three years of appropriated teaching experience and hold a Professional Teacher's Certificate.
9. Supervisor's Endorsement (General). The applicant for endorsement as supervisor of instruction (general) shall have completed an approved fifth-year*** program, with the major portion of his graduate preparation in areas that are clearly relevant for educational supervision and have completed at least three years of appropriate teaching experience and hold a Professional Teacher's Certificate.
10. Supervisor's Endorsement (Special Fields). The applicant for endorsement as supervisor of instruction in a special field shall have completed an approved fifth-year*** program, with the major portion of his graduate preparation in areas clearly relevant for supervision of the field specified and have completed at least three years of appropriate teaching experience and hold a Professional Teachers' Certificate.⁵⁵

**Sixth-year program--at least one year beyond the Master's Degree.
***Fifth-year program--at least a Master's Degree.

In addition to these recommendations, the TPEAS proposal suggested that the State Board of Education establish a list of professors and practitioners of educational administration and supervision within the state of Tennessee who would be eligible to serve on program evaluation committees. Each institution would select its evaluators from among the names on the list. Approval of institutions and programs would then be based upon reports by the evaluators and upon the institution's self study.

Various questions were raised at the April meeting of the Advisory Council concerning the meaning of many points within the set of TPEAS recommendations. For example: Is the approved program concept the best approach? Should the State Department of Education grant certification without the recommendation of an institution? How much flexibility should be provided a program? How would the 5th and 6th year programs outlined in the proposal be carried out?

Because of the numerous unanswered questions, and the need for clarification on different points within the proposal, the Chairman of the Advisory Council appointed a six-member sub-committee to study the proposal and make recommendations to the full Advisory Council.

The establishment of the sub-committee gave the Advisory Council an opportunity to work toward modifying some of the recommendations. It also gave them a chance to get feedback from school administrators, because, up to this time, there had been very little involvement of anyone other than university professors. The sub-committee was headed by Mildred Doyle, an elected county superintendent. When the Doyle sub-committee reported back in July of 1971, most of the recommendations of the St. John (TPEAS) proposal were accepted. But two questions of great interest to the Advisory Council remained: 1) What is the appropriate work experience for the areas

for which certification change is proposed? 2) What is the meaning of reciprocity? Directions were given to Dr. St. John's committee to "spell out" appropriate work experience, further describe the core program, and clarify the intent and provisions of 5th and 6th year program.

From August, 1971, to April of 1972, the St. John group worked on the questions raised about their proposal. On April 10th, 1972, the Advisory Council heard discussion of the revised proposals by the Tennessee Professors of Educational Administration led by Dr. Benjamin Dowly, Peabody College; Dr. William Stradley, Tennessee Tech University; and Dr. Walter St. John, University of Tennessee at Nashville. The Council also heard reports from the sub-committee headed by the Superintendent Mildred Doyle, of Knox County. The Advisory Council then formalized its revised recommendations and submitted them to the State Board of Education. The Tennessee State Board of Education adopted this administrative certification policy at its August, 1972, Board meeting.

In summary, the administrative certification issue in Tennessee was resolved only after certain protocol items were observed and after there was greater assurance of a broad spectrum of participants. The recommendations were viewed by the Advisory Council as being far too ambitious in their original form, and compromise modifications were accomplished via the establishment of a sub-committee to study and clarify the original proposals. This sub-committee provided for input from the public elementary and secondary school administrators. The comprehensive nature of the original certification proposal may also have contributed to the long process of study, revision, clarification, and compromise that preceded adoption by the State Board.

The TPEAS and the Advisory Council were the two chief actors in this process, while the State Board acted in a legitimizing role. Local

administrators came into play with the establishment of the sub-committee headed by Mildred Doyle. It is important to note, however, that the local school administrators did not play a very salient role and that the Tennessee Education Association was involved only to the extent that members from that organization were represented on the Advisory Council. Given the fact that the TEA supposedly represents both teachers and administrators, the minimal role that it played in this process is somewhat surprising. If the proposed changes had been in the area of classroom teacher certification, it is hard to believe that the TEA would not have been more active.

The adoption of this policy change by the State Board of Education must be largely credited to the perseverance of the Tennessee Professors of Educational Administration and Supervision. Even though the new requirements placed additional demands on practicing (or aspiring) school administrators, this group did little in the process. Active involvement on their part may have limited the scope of certification requirement changes. In view of comments by SDE personnel, requirements for school administrators were in need of upgrading. The TPEAS evidently decided to take positive action in an area that the practicing field administrators had ignored.

The Republican Governor and a New Commissioner

The biggest issue in the governance of education in Tennessee during the period of this research was the role of the Commissioner of Education E. C. Stimbert and his relationship with Governor Dunn. Prior to discussing the specifics of this issue, some background information on former Commissioner J. H. Warf is necessary.

The Democrats controlled the Governorship in Tennessee from 1923 until 1971. This gave them control of the office of Commissioner of Education and the State Department of Education throughout this period. J. H. Warf,

Commissioner from 1963 to 1971 under Democratic Governors Clement and Ellington, was widely viewed as a powerful Commissioner. Warf came to his position from a career as an educator and as a civic-political leader. He had served as Superintendent of Schools in Lewis County, as Democratic Party Chairman in Lewis County, and as a member of the State Board of Education prior to his appointment as State Commissioner of Education. Many policy actors in Tennessee viewed Warf as the strongest political figure to come to the post of Commissioner of Education since P. L. Harned (1923-1933).⁵⁶ He had opposition in both political and professional circles stemming largely, it would seem, from his reputed "directive" operating style. One member of the SDE we interviewed characterized Commissioner Warf's style in the following manner:

We had no doubt as to who was running the Department when it was headed by Warf. You cleared all decisions with him, he told you what to do and you did it his way. His style didn't allow for much participation in the decision-making process. When legislators or outsiders wanted an answer to a question, Warf expected the questions to be directed to his office. He didn't want subordinates giving out information without clearing it with him.

Besides his control over SDE operations, Warf had considerable "clout" in the state's Democratic party. According to a member of the legislature, "Governor Ellington had a tough time controlling Commissioner Warf. He did his own wheeling and dealing in the legislature and not always with the approval of the Governor." This legislator commented further that the ability of the Governor to control Commissioner Warf was complicated by Warf's political strength in the Democratic party.

The belief that the SDE had become a repository of Democratic party patronage was held in varying degrees by many of our interviewees, though members of the SDE professional staff rejected this as not being a fair

characterization. For example, one such staffer stated: "I am sure Commissioner Warf gave some consideration to party affiliation but in general I think he tried to select the most able people."

Jerome Murphy in his research on the use of Title V funds in selected state departments of education, described the professional staff of the Tennessee State Department of Education (1971) in these words:

The most striking characteristic of the Tennessee Department of Education was the appearance of homogeneity of its staff. Everyone in a position of authority seemed to be old, tired and a former administrator in the Tennessee public schools. Indeed, I asked the personnel officer to direct me to a top manager who was below forty years of age; he was unable to do so.

....This pattern also reflected the staffing of the SEA through political patronage. Under Tennessee law, not only the chief state school officer but the entire SEA staff served at the governor's discretion. Governors in the past apparently exercised this discretion by appointing political friends to SEA jobs.

Another distinctive characteristic of the Tennessee SEA was what might be called its pre-bureaucratic mode of operation. Formal rules and regulations, fixed channels of communication, and a preoccupation with efficiency simply seemed foreign to the agency. Rather, there appeared to be a personal (as opposed to policy) orientation which cut across formal organizational channels. Who one knew and how well one was liked seemed to be important, or perhaps more important, than what one knew.

....The Tennessee SEA is the antithesis of what is generally thought of as a "good government" executive agency--for example, the New York SEA. Indeed, the contrast between the pre-bureaucratic, political and personal orientation in Tennessee and the professional, technocratic, policy-oriented approach in New York could hardly be more pronounced. But the contrast is also revealing, particularly if one imagines putting the Tennessee SEA in New York and vice versa. The result would be somewhat similar to switching the U.S. Marine Corps with the Italian Army; there would be culture shock in both countries. That is to say, the Tennessee SEA in the New York political environment would be ineffective. But likewise the New York SEA in Tennessee also would be unable to operate. This suggests that the striking characteristics of the Tennessee SEA discussed above were no more than reflections of general features of Tennessee political environment. This suggests further that these characteristics were probably more necessary for effective SEA operation in Tennessee than at first might appear obvious.⁵⁷

Such was the situation as many observers saw it when Republican Governor Winfield Dunn took office in 1971. In campaigning for office, Dunn had used educational issues effectively. Paramount among them was a commitment to the need for early childhood education programs in Tennessee. Dunn had stated throughout his campaign that he wanted to bring more "openness" and "professionalism" to government. After his election, the appointment of a new Commissioner of Education was very important; Dunn felt that this would be the first step in bringing much needed change to the SDE. Though not openly stated, the Governor apparently was convinced that a number of personnel changes had to be made within the SDE in order for it to become responsive to his program. Prior to selecting a Commissioner of Education, the Governor emphasized that he wanted a man who would not be as politically oriented as Warf. What was needed, according to Dunn, was a strong "educational" leader as Commissioner.

Various individuals were considered for the Commissioner position. Reportedly one candidate was reluctant to consider the job because of salary considerations. Another was a staunch Republican in strongly Republican East Tennessee and the "political halo" that would have accompanied such an appointment would have obviously been at odds with Dunn's call for a professional educator. Given these circumstances, E. C. Stimbert became the favored candidate.

A group of Memphis businessmen backed the appointment of Stimbert. Stimbert had served as Superintendent of the Memphis City Schools for 14 years and during that time had received numerous awards, such as:

1966--Named "Educator of the Year" by Greater Memphis State, Inc.

1967--NEA Thom McAnn School Board Award (Presented to the Memphis City School System for being the best school system of its size in the nation)

Governor Dunn chose to name a non-political "professional educator," E. C. Stimbert, to the role of Commissioner of Education. Commissioner Stimbert took office in January 1971. According to members of the Governor's staff, the new Commissioner was instructed to: (1) clean out the "dead wood" in the SDE; (2) improve morale; (3) bring a sense of professionalism to the Department; (4) reorganize and develop goals for the Department; and (5) coordinate legislative activity through the Governor's office. (The last point was suggested by a SDE interviewee.) While the above statements seem straightforward and easily understood, some of them later became the basis for much misunderstanding.

Commissioner Stimbert did bring a new operational style to the SDE, a style which was in marked contrast to that of Commissioner Warf. Stimbert attempted to instill a collegial, non-directive approach as the basis for SDE operations. This style was also employed in his role as Chairman of the State Board. This dramatic change apparently made SDE professionals and Board members uncomfortable. Over the years, they had become accustomed to a Commissioner who told them what to do and when to do it. Excerpts from a study conducted in 1971, The Tennessee State Management Review, on the operations and organization of the SDE follow:

The Tennessee State Department of Education is a Department which, during the past year, has been confronted by a new philosophy of government and a new philosophy of management. It is difficult to adjust to either; to adjust to both simultaneously may bring on anxiety. At the same time many staff members, having been in the Department for many years, have no intention of seeking alternative sources of employment.

And so the new government, in the form of a new Governor, a new party, and as set forth in some detail in the report of the Governor's Study on Cost Control, suggests reorganization; and the new management, in the form of a new Commissioner, suggests reorganization. And the staff awaits, anxiously.

At this point in time, it appears to us that almost any change will be greeted with relief. Change, for the sake of change, however, will likely not be productive for very long. But the potential for change in the Department is so great that much can be accomplished, if change is made with conviction and energy and humanity.

The Department has two fundamental and interlocking problems. It is a loosely linked collection of nearly independent programs, directions, enthusiasms, ambitions, and purposes. Each is carefully protected. There are no statements of policies or goals which unite the Department. Consequently there are no general statements of procedures to describe the way to achieve large missions nor to describe the types of people to perform the tasks.

The second problem reflects the fact that control exists where the information exists. If you control the information, you control your destiny and that of your program. And it would appear that the effectiveness of programs is limited by a failure to share information. Information tends to get shared when seen to be to the advantage of the sharers. But without written departmental policies and goals, it is difficult to encourage or stimulate sharing for the real purpose of interchange--the greater mission of the Department--which is neither articulated nor clear.

Therefore, the fundamental reorganization needs to be in the minds of the staff--and this may be the hardest task ever undertaken by any leadership. But until the Department is changed from a collection of programs and people into a goal-oriented organization and until there is an attitude which openly welcomes a definition and free flow of information in all directions internally, there may be no change in the way the Department thinks or acts or serves, no matter what form of organization or reorganization it may have, or pass through.⁵⁸

The picture of the SDE portrayed by the Management Review Team depicted the need for a concerted effort to improve the Department. The Governor's Study on Cost Control Report (1971), commonly known as the Jarman Committee Report, also suggested that the SDE be reorganized to improve management control. Although this report recommended many changes, a primary problem identified was that "too many people report to the Commissioner." The Jarman Report set forth a new organizational scheme designed to reduce the number of persons reporting directly to the Commissioner from 13 to 8. (A number of SDE professionals indicated that far more than 13 subordinates reported directly to Commissioner Warf on an informal basis.)

Commissioner Stimbert obviously felt that his non-directive participative style was the correct approach to use to develop more individual leadership in the SDE. But to some in the department, this style was a manifestation of a lack of leadership and authority on the part of the Commissioner. This view was also voiced by many legislators we interviewed. For years these lawmakers had grown accustomed to a highly visible Commissioner of Education "wheeling and dealing" in the legislature. Stimbert's legislative style was much less visible and was generally coordinated through the Governor's office. "I began to wonder," one legislator said, "if we had a Commissioner of Education." The essential point is that while the new Commissioner attempted to institute change through a new leadership style, the end result was widespread questioning of his leadership ability.

While the aforementioned difficulties were important, the event that eventually led to the dismissal of Commissioner Stimbert was rooted in the issue of patronage. Commissioner Stimbert believed that patronage considerations in the employment of SDE personnel could not be continued if a new level of professionalism were to be accomplished. And Stimbert's interpretation of the charge "get rid of the deadwood in the department" evidently did not include political considerations (i.e., make room for some Republicans). Commissioner Stimbert must have viewed these instructions as simply meaning that he should evaluate the personnel and make recommended changes where he felt necessary. Unfortunately, evaluations and changes in SDE personnel were not viewed in the same light by members of the Governor's staff.

While the Governor had made public pronouncements to the effect that a new era of professionalism should be brought to the SDE, the Governor and his staff had not forsaken the use of jobs in the different departments of state government as a means to advance the cause of the Republican party. Their day had finally come (first Republican Governor in 50 years) and they intended to make the most of the situation.

Interference from the Governor's office in SDE personnel appointments came to a head in November of 1972. On November 6, 1972, Commissioner Stimbert submitted his resignation to the Governor. The first announcement from the Governor's office merely stated that the Commissioner had resigned for "personal reasons." But from his home in Memphis, Commissioner Stimbert issued the following statement:

....Personal reasons are involved, but in all honesty the patronage system is the real reason behind my stepping down. I know that partisan politics have to be involved to a degree in working with the legislature. But I don't think that partisanship should interfere when it comes to hiring people to work in education across the state. Rather, it has concerned people that have been rejected for jobs, many times in the area vocational schools, ...a lot of pressure... It will be interesting to see how things are handled by my successor. If several people in the department are dismissed, I think my point will have been proved.

Commissioner Stimbert also released details of efforts on the part of the Governor's staff to interfere with personnel appointments. He cited his attempt (September of 1972) to appoint Dr. Willis Nowell to the position of Title I Coordinator in the State Department. According to Stimbert, this appointment was held up by the Governor's office because of opposition from a West Tennessee county school superintendent. The Commissioner further argued that this delay endangered the application for \$30,000,000 in Title I funds. Another case cited by the Commissioner was the insistence by one of the Governor's aides (Joe Hooper) that he fire Dr. William H. Droye, state librarian (who later resigned). Another Stimbert charge involved the refusal by the Governor's office (November of 1972) to employ a teacher recommended for a position at the Tennessee School for the Blind. Stimbert stated, "I just don't believe you can put a party label on a teacher of blind children."⁶⁰

The Governor's original low key strategy for dealing with the resignation of Commissioner Stimbert ("personal reasons") was abandoned after

Stimbert's charges came out in the newspapers. Immediately following Stimbert's accusations, the Governor's office released the following explanation: "He (Stimbert) left because I (Governor) asked him to resign." Governor Dunn listed a variety of reasons for the dismissal of Stimbert:

He would not respond to my authority as Governor.

In my opinion (Stimbert) was generally non-directive and non-assertive in his capacity as Commissioner.

He refused to evaluate the professional performances of his top-level people and to make necessary changes on the basis of their performance.

Some of the Warf people are ineffective and incapable and they were retained, even though I have urged him to bring in whatever new professional talent of his own choosing he could find to give us a new thrust in education.

In addition, the Department has no master plan for the future development of the state's educational system.

When I asked for a delineation of the Department's goals and priorities, the reply was a cursory "We'll try to get something up."

The Commissioner never hired a much-needed financial officer, in spite of his repeated statements of assurance that this would be done.

He was absent an excessive number of days from the office not only in-state but out-of-state for extended periods of time.

Just prior to my asking for his resignation, he was scheduled to spend a full week away at the Chief State School Officers meeting to be followed by four weeks on an around-the-world cruise.⁶¹

The Governor concluded by saying that he had hoped for the sake of education that Commissioner Stimbert had not attempted to make a public display of his resignation, but that it was apparent that the Commissioner was using patronage charges to rationalize his departure.

Immediately following this heated exchange in the newspapers, the Governor became irritated by suspected news leaks from the SDE concerning the dismissal of Commissioner Stimbert. The Governor called the top seven or eight assistants in the SDE to his office and warned them not to discuss the case until the arrival of a new commissioner.⁶²

James H. Cummings (now retired), long-time Democratic head of the Education Committee in the General Assembly, commented on the Governor Dunn-Commissioner Stimbert controversy:

I think Dunn's administration..., as I should expect and for which I do not condemn, is purely partisan, and he has been able to conceal this rather successfully. But it's coming to the top of the pot. If my party had the governorship, I would not expect my governor to keep commissioners or weedcutters--that I didn't think were loyal to my administration.⁶³

The Governor selected Dr. Benjamin Carmichael (former Superintendent of Chattanooga City Schools and who was serving as the Director of the Appalachian Educational Laboratory) to become the new State Commissioner of Education effective December 1, 1972. Commissioner Carmichael gave the following statement when asked about his conference with the Governor when being considered for the position:

Governor Dunn emphasized throughout my conferences with him that his only interest was in a professional job being done in the Department of Education.

He emphasized that he did not know persons, or have any strong feelings about persons, and that he wanted only a leader who would take hold of it (the Department) and help him accomplish the things in the field of education he had committed his administration to accomplish.

Dunn talked with me about his interest in vocational education, the morale of the school personnel across the state and, generally, his interest in giving full commitment in advancing education throughout the state.

The Governor (Carmichael said) wished only to convince himself that I would approach it (the job) in a purely professional way.⁶⁴

Rather than take the side of Governor Dunn or Commissioner Stimbert, we will close our description with some questions suggested by the Tennessee case:

1. Can a SEA structural mechanism that has the Governor in the central role be free of political considerations? Should it be?
2. Is it realistic to expect a political party which has not held the governorship in 50 years to act in a non-partisan fashion?

3. Can organizations adjust or adapt to extreme swings in operational style?
4. Should political experience or experience in government bureaucracies that are highly political be a necessary prerequisite for the Commissionship of Education in Tennessee?

SECTION IV

RELATIONSHIPS OF EDUCATION POLICY ACTORS IN TENNESSEE

The relationships among the actors in the Tennessee education policy-making system and their impact on the decisions that were made is a necessary part of our understanding of that system. We have attempted to determine this by using structured and open-ended interviews, questionnaire data, and by examining documentary sources. Questions pertaining to four specific issue areas in the case study and questions of a more general nature were used to gain overall perceptions about the role, influence, and other characteristics of each actor or group of actors.

In looking at the relationships among actors we should point out that some relationships will be noted more than once. This occurs when different actors report their perceptions of the same events. In some instances these perceptions are in agreement while in others they differ to some degree. Each actor obviously interprets the event from his perspective.

The Relationship of the Commissioner of Education to Other Actors

The Commissioner of Education in Tennessee serves at the pleasure of the Governor. The relationship between these two important actors is one of paramount importance in the governance of education in Tennessee. The difficulties that surrounded the relationship between Commissioner Stimbert and Governor Dunn were reviewed above. Some additional data and commentary are offered here and in the section on the Governor and other actors.

Commissioner Stimbert indicated that he communicated frequently with the Governor's office; this was accomplished in most instances during the Governor's cabinet meetings. The Commissioner indicated that most of this communication concerned finance and budgetary matters as well as legislative proposals. The Commissioner felt he was the most important source of advice to the Governor on education matters during the first three months that he served but after that the Governor became more party oriented and dependent on his personal staff. Stimbert indicated that in the beginning he was referred to as the "pro" but later the "party line advocates" (Governor's staff) had more weight in influencing the Governor. When the Governor and three of his staff members were asked to evaluate the Commissioner as a source of information to the Governor they responded as follows:

Most important single source	4
Among his most important sources	0
A relatively minor source	0
Not at all important as a source	0

These evaluations were very positive, but two of the staff members qualified their rating by stating: (1) this was the case for the first three months; and (2) my evaluation applies to the new Commissioner (Carmichael). In general then both the Commissioner and the Governor and his staff agree that the relationship was good in the beginning but deteriorated after the first three months.

The relationship of the Commissioner to the legislature in Tennessee is dependent on a number of factors. Some of the factors are: (1) the operational style outlined or permitted by the Governor; (2) the Commissioner's own style and ability; and (3) the existing party control in the legislature. Commissioner Stimbert's relationship with the legislature was affected to some extent by all of the above factors. The Governor wanted the Commissioner to coordinate most of his legislative activity

through the Governor's office. This reduced Stimbert's visibility in the legislature which was a departure from the conditions surrounding the previous Commissioner. Beyond this Stimbert did not have a strong political background and his style of legislative operation was more professional than political. Lastly, the Democrats were in control of the legislature and Stimbert was the representative of a Republican Governor.

Commissioner Stimbert indicated that he or a member of his staff were in contact with legislators on a daily basis. This contact took place at committee hearings, personal meetings, and by phone according to the Commissioner. Members of the legislature were not as positive about the amount of contact with the Commissioner or members of his staff. Six of the 11 legislators interviewed indicated they were contacted, but five indicated no contact. The six legislators who indicated that they were contacted listed the following SDE administrators, in addition to the Commissioner, as sources of contact: R. E. Brinkley, T. B. Webb and Robert Sharp. Among those who indicated no contact the most frequent remark made was that "Stimbert didn't understand the legislative or political process." The Commissioner, his legislative expert, and legislators were in general agreement as to the success of the Commissioner and his staff in getting proposals enacted by the legislature as is shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8

RATINGS OF SUCCESS OF THE COMMISSIONER IN GETTING PROPOSALS
ADOPTED BY THE LEGISLATURE GIVEN BY THE COMMISSIONER,
SDE LEGISLATIVE EXPERT AND LEGISLATORS (11)

	Commissioner	SDE Expert	Legislators
Almost always successful			2
Successful most of the time		E	9
Successful about half of the time	C		
Almost always successful			
Successful less than half of the time			

The rating of the Commissioner was somewhat less positive than were the ratings of the legislators or the SDE legislative expert. Legislators, when asked what contributed most to the Commissioner's (Stimbert) success, generally ascribed it to his status as an educational authority. They felt that the Commissioner's proposals were not enhanced by his position in the Republican party, standing with the Governor, lobbying effort, or political "know-how." In regard to the quality of information supplied by the SDE the legislators responded as follows:

Almost always meets our needs.....	0
Usually meets our needs	7
Sometimes meets our needs	4
Almost never meets our needs	0

This somewhat mixed appraisal included such comments as: (1) information contains no alternatives (3 members); and (2) SDE information is not available on all issues (3 members).

Commissioner Stimbert felt he had good channels of communication with most of the legislative leaders as is shown in Table 9. His legislative expert was not as positive about channels of communication with party leaders. He stated that this was the case because it was not necessary to communicate as frequently with the overall leadership of the House and Senate.

The Commissioner felt that about 25 per cent of the education bills in the last session of the legislature were initiated by the SDE. He further remarked that the Governor's office was the real source for many of these bills. The Commissioner's closing remark on this point was an interesting one, "We essentially implemented programs, we did not initiate them." Stimbert felt that the influence of the State Department had decreased in the last few years. He associated much of this decrease to the controversy between his office and that of the Governor.

TABLE 9

RATINGS OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION
AND LEGISLATIVE LEADERS BY THE COMMISSIONER
AND HIS LEGISLATIVE EXPERT

Individual/Group	COMMUNICATION CHANNEL			
	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Speaker of the House			C	E
Presiding Officer of the Senate		C		E
Minority Part Leader in House		C		E
Minority Party Leader in Senate		C		E
Appropriations Committee in House		E C		
Appropriations Committee in Senate		E C		
Education Committee in House		E C		
Education Committee in Senate		E C		

C = Commissioner of Education; E = Legislative Expert

Commissioner Stimbert felt that he had a good working relationship with the educational interest groups (essentially TEA and TSBA). He felt that his relationship was enhanced by his long time membership in the Tennessee Education Association and previous service as the president of the Tennessee Association of School Administrators (part of TEA). In addition, he had served as a member of TEA's Advisory Council. As evidence of his good relations with the TEA the Commissioner pointed to the fact that he was invited to attend all of the TEA meetings as an educational advisor. This practice would seem to support the monolith model suggested by Iannaccone in which a great deal of accommodation takes place within the educational establishment itself.⁶⁵ Education interest group leaders were generally supportive of the characterization that Stimbert was a dedicated professional but they were critical of his political and legislative know-how. Another criticism offered was that he did not understand the problems of the small rural school superintendents.

Commissioner Stimbert had a relatively good working relationship with the SBE. This relationship is somewhat unusual in Tennessee in that the

Commissioner is the chairman and a voting member of the SBE by statute. The Commissioner felt that he was not influential in recommending people to the Governor to serve on the SBE. In an effort to determine the way in which the State Commissioner and the SBE members viewed the job of the State Commissioner we asked them to respond to the questions shown in Table 10. Three significant points emerge from an examination of the perceptions shown in Table 10: (1) The SBE and Commissioner are in agreement as to the role of the State Commissioner in Tennessee; (2) the level of agreement is unusually high in that on all 10 questions the Commissioner and a majority of the Board members take the same position; and (3) the extremely strong role or position that is indicated for the State Commissioner (perhaps this is reflective of traditional conditions).

In terms of the Commissioner's role regarding the four issue areas we researched, our data suggest the following: (1) only minimal involvement in the finance-kindergarten issue; (2) in the certification issue a legitimizing role chiefly associated with his responsibility as chairman of the SBE; (3) no significant involvement in the desegregation issue; and (4) obviously at the center of the controversy between the Governor and the Commissioner. We now turn to the relationships of the State Board of Education.

The Relationship of the State Board of Education to Other Actors

The State Board of Education in Tennessee is basically a consensual body. This Board has traditionally been dominated by the State Commissioner who serves as the Chairman and as a voting member of the group. In addition, the powers of the Governor in Tennessee place him in a central position to influence the Board. He appoints the members to the Board, serves as an ex officio member of the Board, and the Chairman (Commissioner) of the Board is appointed by and is directly responsible to the Governor.

TABLE 10

PERCEPTIONS OF THE STATE COMMISSIONER AND THE STATE BOARD
OF EDUCATION MEMBERS (8) REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE COMMISSIONER

		Agree		Disagree	
		Commis- sioner	SBE	Commis- sioner	SBE
1.	A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should assume leadership in shaping the policies enacted by the State Board of Education.	C	8		
2.	A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should maintain a neutral stand on education policy issues that are very controversial among the citizens of his state.		1	C	7
3.	A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should actively seek to influence legislative leaders with regard to education policies.	C	8		
4.	A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should work to have people he respects become members of the State Board of Education.	C	5		3
5.	A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should administer the State Department of Education and leave policy matters to other state officials.		2	C	6
6.	A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should actively work with party leaders in order to attain education policy goals.	C	8		
7.	A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should take a policy position in which he believes even when most professional educators may be hostile.	C	8		
8.	A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should be the principal advocate of major changes in state education policy.	C	8		
9.	A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should actively seek to influence federal legislation that affects public education in his state.	C	8		
10.	A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should allow local district officials as much leeway as possible in dealing with educational issues.	C	7		1

C = Stands for Commissioner

The State Board was viewed by most of those we interviewed as a minor actor in the policy process and was often referred to as a "rubber stamp" for the Commissioner. Reasons given for these views were generally some combination of the following four factors: (1) tradition, (2) centralized government structure in Tennessee, (3) lack of time and resources available to the Board, and (4) the directive approach of the former Commissioner. One member of the SDE staff stated, "Commissioner Warf allowed the Board to discuss and debate an issue then he told them how to vote on it."

We interviewed eight of the twelve members on the Tennessee SBE. Most of them (5) indicated that people did not actively seek positions on the SBE. When asked what groups or individuals were influential in recommending potential Board members to the Governor those interviewed responded as is shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11

RESPONSES OF STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION MEMBERS REGARDING THE INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN ACTORS IN RECOMMENDING SBE CANDIDATES TO THE GOVERNOR

Individuals/Groups	Very Influential	Somewhat Influential	Not Influential
Current State Board Members		2	6
State Commissioner of Education	2	5	1
State Teachers Association		5	3
State Administrator Association		2	6
Members of the Governor's Staff	6	2	
Members of the Legislature	1	3	4
Party Leaders (other than legislators)	5	3	
Local School Board Members		2	6

The responses of the Board members indicate that members of the Governor's staff and party leaders are the most influential in recommending candidates to the Governor. In other words, recommendations from the political arena are more influential than recommendations from education circles.

Most Board members (6) indicated that they spent two or three days per month carrying out their Board duties. The agenda for State Board meetings and related information was received by Board members one week prior to each meeting of the Board in most instances. Board members were unanimous in indicating that the agenda was prepared by the Commissioner and the Executive Secretary of the Board. A few members indicated that occasionally a Board member would submit an item for the agenda. When Board members were asked to indicate their sources of information for items appearing on the agenda they responded as follows:

State Commissioner	8
State Department of Education	5
Tennessee Education Association	2
Local Administrators (Superintendent and Principal)	2
Tennessee School Boards Association	1

These responses indicate that the Board members are heavily dependent on the Commissioner and the SDE for information concerning items on the agenda. While this is true in most states, the almost total lack of other sources of information to this body is the most salient finding. Board members evaluated the information which they received from the SDE in the following manner:

Almost always meets our needs	1
Usually meets our needs	4
Sometimes meets our needs	3
Almost never meets our needs	0

While most Board members (4) indicated that the information usually met their needs, three members indicated that it met their needs only some of

the time. The most frequent criticisms of the information was: (1) too much material (3 members); (2) some material not pertinent (2 members); and (3) too much dependence on Commissioner and SDE (3 members).

Board members were nearly unanimous (7 of 8) in rejecting the view that they should be spokesmen for particular geographic or ethnic groups. Board members indicated that they were usually in agreement when they were attempting to decide a major policy issue. The agreement on the Board was characterized as follows (N=8):

Board is harmonious, little serious disagreement	0
Board is usually in agreement, but there are Board members who sometimes dissent	7
Board tends to divide into rival factions of nearly equal strength	0
Board tends to divide into rival factions, but there is a clear working majority on the Board	0
Board often is divided but the lines of division depend on the issue that is confronting the Board	1

The responses shown above were rather consistent with our overall impressions, that is, there is a relatively high level of agreement and harmony on the Tennessee SBE. Board members cited the following reasons for agreement on the Board: (1) The large number of educators on the SBE encourages the other members to agree with their views. (2) The items on the agenda are generally of a non-controversial nature. (3) The Board does not suffer from a strong liberal versus conservative split. Most Board members (6) indicated that there were no particular Board members who consistently opposed the State Commissioner, though two members did indicate that there were a couple of members who consistently opposed the Commissioner. The reasons cited for this were political: opposition to the Governor, and party differences.

Commissioner-Board relationships, particularly approaches used in the preparation of a major policy proposal, were examined. Responses from the Commissioner and Board members are summarized in Table 12. On statements 3, 6, and 7 the Board and the Commissioner were generally in agreement as to the Commissioner's working style. On the other items the perceptions were somewhat different. While the Commissioner indicated that he never discussed ideas informally with individual Board members (Statement 1), five Board members indicated that this occurred either often or sometimes.

TABLE 12

PERCEPTIONS OF THE COMMISSIONER AND BOARD MEMBERS (8) REGARDING APPROACHES USED IN THE PREPARATION OF MAJOR POLICY PROPOSALS

Approach	FREQUENCY			
	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Meets informally with individual Board members to discuss ideas	1	4	3	C
Presents an outline of his ideas to a Board committee for its reactions	2C	2	3	1
Presents an outline of his ideas to the entire Board for its reactions	3	3C	1	1
Develops a fully detailed proposal for a Board committee to consider		3C	3	2
Develops a fully detailed proposal for the entire Board to consider	1	3C	3	1
Develops a detailed proposal and informally solicits the reactions of individual Board members before presenting it to the Board or one of its committees		2	3	3C
Take ideas or suggestions from Board members and develop these into a policy proposal	1	7C		

C - Commissioner's Responses

The Commissioner indicated that he often presented an outline of his ideas to a Board Committee for its reaction (Statement 2) but four members indicated that this occurred rarely or never and only two members agreed with the Commissioner's specific assessment. In general, then, one could state that the perceptions of the Commissioner as to his working style with the Board were different, on some items, than the perceptions of the Board.

On three of the specific issues researched (excluding the Commissioner-Governor issue), Board members described the interaction between the Commissioner and Board in the following general terms: (1) Finance-Kindergarten, "We discussed kindergarten programs at different times, but were not involved in the proposed sales tax increase." "This issue was essentially pushed by the Governor." (2) Certification, "The Commissioner did not work with the State Board on this issue." "Commissioner was between the Advisory Council and the Board on the issue." "We had no major disagreement on the issue, it was essentially worked out by SDE and the Advisory Council." (3) Desegregation, "The Commissioner played no role in the anti-busing resolution that was passed." "He neither spoke for or against the resolution."

Most Board members (6) indicated that the Board did not work with the Governor's staff when a legislative proposal affecting the public schools was being developed. They indicated that this was done by the Commissioner. Board members indicated that the Board as a group was not one of the Governor's close advisors on education matters. A number of Board members did indicate that H. Lynn Greer, one of their members, was a close advisor to the Governor. The reasons given for this was Mr. Greer's standing in the Republican party. Board members were divided on their responses as to whether the Governor or Legislature had encroached on their authority. Some Board members felt that the legislature had passed legislation on

issues that could have been handled merely by Board approval. The most frequently cited area of legislator and Governor interference was that of the selection of vocational school sites.

The Governor and three of his staff members rated the State Board as a source of information. The Governor and one staff member felt the Board was an important source while two staff members felt the Board was a minor source. One staff member, who rated the SBE as a minor source, merely stated that the Governor has respect for the Board. Another staff member stated "They are not professionals and have very little information." Two of the staff members confirmed the close relationship between H. Lynn Greer (Board member) and the Governor, previously mentioned.

Six of the eight Board members indicated that the Board did make legislative recommendations. They further indicated that these were almost always communicated to the legislature through the Commissioner. Most Board members (6) indicated that the Board had no means of influencing actions by the legislature. Reasons given for this lack of influence were: tradition, very little contact, quarterly meetings, style of previous Commissioner, and Board has made very little effort to be assertive.

Members of the Legislature generally did not view the SBE as an important participant in the formulation of education legislation. The responses to this question from 10 legislators are shown below:

The single most important participant	0
One of the most important participants	3
A participant of minor importance	6
Not important at all as a participant	1

Specific reasons given for their evaluation by some legislators were:

(1) programs come from Governor and the Commissioner, (2) Board members are not well informed, (3) low visibility of Board members, and (4) little political "know-how."

The State Board is influenced by education interest groups (EIG), but Board members indicated that they did not actively seek the support of these groups. The SDE State Board expert, the EIG leaders, and State Board members agreed that the Tennessee Education Association (TEA) was the most influential education interest group in the state. Four of six education interest group leaders interviewed indicated that their organization worked directly with the Board when it was considering a policy that affected their organization. The TEA usually provided the State Board members with written information on the issue and made personal contacts with various Board committees. Other interest group leaders mentioned advisory committees, joint sessions, and personal meetings as methods employed to influence the Board.

Five of the six education interest group leaders did not believe the SBE had taken the lead in promoting education legislation. They were also in agreement that the SBE was dominated by the Governor through the Commissioner.

When SBE members were asked to indicate the importance of persons or groups that helped them see educational policy issues as they did they responded as is shown in Table 13. The responses given in Table 13 support the contention made by most of those we interviewed in Tennessee, that is, the SBE is dependent (or is dominated) to a great extent on the views of the Commissioner and Governor in the area of policy determination. A word of caution is in order, any interpretation of the findings on the SBE should be viewed as including the state of affairs during the last ten years and even to a large extent the period under Commissioner Warf. We have suggested and there is much evidence to show that the SBE has for the last decade served the primary function of legitimizing policies and proposals presented to them by the Commissioner. One official described the

TABLE 13

RESPONSES OF STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION MEMBERS (8)
REGARDING IMPORTANCE OF VIEWS OF CERTAIN ACTORS
IN CONTRIBUTING TO BOARD POLICY POSITIONS

PERSONS/GROUPS	Very Important	Important	Unimportant
Views of Other Board Members	4	3	1
Views of the State Commissioner	6	2	
Views of School People Who Speak for Local Districts	2	4	2
Views of Political Party Leaders		5	3
Views of State Legislators		5	3
Views of the Governor	5	2	1
Views of State Teachers Association	2	3	3
Views of State Administrator Association	2	3	3

role of the Board in a way that catches the tone of what many informants perceive as reality: "Former Commissioner Warf's total domination of the SBE from 1963 until 1971 led to its overall demise. He turned the Board into a rubber stamp." An interest group leader exclaimed, "The State Board is not the power behind the throne. Organizations (i.e., education interest groups) are not falling over themselves to influence the Board!" Beyond what may be attributed to the personal style of the Commissioner, a fundamental problem may reside in the structure of the Tennessee governance system. One legislator commented: "Our system is a strong executive type organization dominated from the top and this relegates the Board to a relatively minor role."

In summary, the Board is not viewed as a major policy participant by members of the legislature or by the Governor or his staff. They are

heavily dependent on the Commissioner and SDE for information on which to base their decisions. We did observe a few signs of change in their role which will be elucidated later.

The Relationship of the Legislature to Other Actors

The legislature in Tennessee has been rather passive and reactive with regard to education legislation. Initiation has been with the TEA, the Commissioner, and the Governor's office. The old pattern of accommodation had been the operational style with the TEA and ex-Commissioner Warf interacting with "friends of education" in the legislature. Stimbert introduced a professional administrator style that was different from that of Warf. Stimbert had less personal contact with legislative leaders, and chose not to lobby with individuals. Because of this he was viewed by legislators as not having much "political know-how." Instead of "wheeling and dealing" in the legislature, Stimbert relied on his educational expertise and acted as a provider of information. He appeared before hearings and sent a number of people to the legislature for purposes of testifying and providing information as requested. Although Commissioner Stimbert and his SDE staff got many of their programs through the legislature, these programs were recognized by legislators as those of the Governor. This put Stimbert and his staff in the role of functionaries.

The legislature in Tennessee has difficulty in assuming an independent policy role essentially for two reasons: (1) lack of time--short sessions and the limited time legislators are financially able to devote to the job; and (2) lack of staff for the development of independent information; therefore, legislators must rely to a great extent on the information provided by the TEA and the executive agency (SDE). Legislators identified their sources of useful information on education as is shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14

TENNESSEE LEGISLATORS PERCEPTIONS OF SOURCES OF USEFUL
INFORMATION IN EDUCATION POLICY MAKING (N=11)

	Frequency of Mention	
	By Legislator as a "Useful Source"*	By Legislator as the One Source "Most Personally Useful"***
Tennessee Education Association (TEA)	11	9
State Department of Education	6	5
Local School District Officials	4	1
Parent-Teacher Association	3	0
Local Teachers Association	2	0
Education Commission of the States	2	0

*Respondents could indicate as many sources as they desired in response to an open-ended question.

***Several respondents indicated more than one source, though only one was requested in an open-ended question.

Table 14 reveals that legislators listed only six sources as providers of useful information and all of them are external to the legislature. More importantly, two sources are predominant in these responses, the TEA and the SDE. This predominance was even more pronounced when legislators were asked to identify the one source most personally useful, only one legislator indicated a source other than the TEA or the SDE. Conspicuously absent from this list was the identification of legislative staff as a source of information. Likewise non-education groups were not identified as sources of useful information.

In terms of potential conflict that could surround major school finance issues the legislators gave the ratings shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15

LEGISLATORS' RATINGS OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT THAT COULD SURROUND A MAJOR SCHOOL FINANCE ISSUE IN THE TENNESSEE LEGISLATURE (N=11)

Type of Conflict	IMPORTANCE			
	Great	Moderate	Slight	None
Between the Political Parties	2	4	5	0
Between the Governor's Supporters and the Governor's Opponents	1	9	1	0
Between spokesmen for the Cities and Those for Suburbs or Rural Areas	3	2	5	1
Between Liberals and Conservatives	1	4	6	0
Between Business Spokesmen and Labor Spokesmen	0	1	7	3
Between Spokesmen for Wealthy School Districts and Those Spokesmen for Poor School Districts	0	0	11	0
Other Conflicts (SPECIFY)--6 Responses-- Higher Education versus K-12	3	3		

The surprising finding was that in no instance did a majority of the legislators rate one of the types of conflict as being of great importance. This could be interpreted as being supportive of the notion that school finance has not been an area of strong ideological differences in the legislature. Ten of the 11 legislators rated conflict between the Governor's supporters and his opponents as being of moderate importance which is supportive of our overall findings on the saliency of the Governor's office in Tennessee. Very little conflict was indicated between business and labor or spokesmen for wealthy as opposed to spokesmen for poor school districts. Three members did rate the conflict between rural and urban spokesman as being of great

importance. During some of our interviews the competition or conflict surrounding the pursuit of limited resources by spokesman for the University of Tennessee system and the K-12 spokesman was mentioned. This is supported to some extent by the three legislators who indicated this was an area of great conflict, as shown in Table 15. This conflict may have been more heavily supported if we had listed it as one of the fixed choices in Table 15. A comment that was occasionally made while we were in Tennessee was, "The big orange lobby" (University of Tennessee) is the most successful in the state. Some of those interviewed felt that the legislature had favored the University of Tennessee system financially to the detriment of the K-12 system, given the limited state finances that were available throughout the 1960s.

All of the legislators (11) agreed that education had been given top priority by Governor Dunn in his legislative program. The kindergarten issue and its financing was the primary example cited by legislators. In addition some legislators mentioned special education, increases in the teachers' salary schedule, and efforts to restructure the governance of higher education (new State Board of Regents) as examples of the Governor's education program. A majority of the legislators interviewed felt the Governor's chief means of advancing his programs were: (1) lobbying by his personal staff, (2) Republican party support, and (3) Republican Committee leaders. These party mechanisms were referred to more frequently than were such means as personal pleas to the legislature or dependence on the SDE. Legislators identified the Governor's media approach as being the chief technique employed in advancing his finance-kindergarten proposal. Seven of the 11 legislators felt that the Governor generally played a strong role in determining school finance issues in Tennessee.

The two committees most frequently identified by legislators as being the decisive ones in respect to education legislation were the Finance, Ways and Means Committee and the Education Committee. Most committee leaders felt that their committee played a significant role in developing education legislation. However, this was not consistent with their response to the question of how the committee played its role. Some of these responses were: (1) "Committee doesn't originate legislation," (2) "We are an amending agency," (3) "We merely review proposals," and (4) "Most proposals originate from the TEA and SDE." As is obvious from these responses the committee leaders were somewhat confused over the meaning of developing and deciding. Our data would seem to support the contention that the Tennessee legislature decided many issues but contributed little to the development of background data on these issues.

In summary, the legislature in Tennessee is hindered by a lack of staff, time, and resources when it comes to developing independent policy positions on education. These conditions, as well as tradition, have led to a situation whereby the legislature acts as an arbitrator between the competing demands from the TEA, Governor and Commissioner, and the higher education systems in the state.

The Relationship of the Governor to Other Actors

We shall now turn from the relationship of the legislature to other actors and describe the interaction of the Governor with those actors. Clearly, the most important relationship between essential policy actors in Tennessee during the time of this study was that of the Governor and the Commissioner of Education. This relationship began on a positive note but quickly deteriorated into a situation of conflict and culminated with the resignation of the Commissioner. We have previously elaborated this

issue so we will devote minimal space to it in this section. While both the Governor and Commissioner viewed their relationship as being one of high importance they were not in agreement on the specific operational procedures of the SDE and its role in educational governance. It would appear that the Governor's view was that political considerations should remain as a factor in the operations of the SDE. This had been the traditional state of affairs and furthermore would appear to be consistent with the existing governance model for education in Tennessee. On the other hand the Commissioner viewed the operation of the SDE largely from a professional perspective, that included a minimum of political considerations. This difference in philosophy eventually led to Stimbert's dismissal (resignation). Though Commissioner Stimbert took his case to the press and to the people, the outcome remained the same because in Tennessee, the Commissioner of Education serves "at the pleasure of the Governor."

The Governor's influence with the legislature was somewhat restricted because of party differences. The Democrats were in the majority in both houses of the General Assembly, therefore they controlled the key leadership positions. If a particular governor is fortunate enough to have strong influence in the legislature either as a result of a party majority or his own personal popularity he can expect little in the way of opposition from the other formal actors in the system. The SBE members are appointed by the Governor and traditionally they have played a minimal role in policy formulation. The Commissioner is appointed by the Governor and the appointment of most professional employees in the SDE have to meet with the approval of the Governor. This is not to say that on occasion a Governor will not be confronted with a Commissioner with the power of a J. H. Warf.

The legislature in Tennessee has traditionally followed the leadership of Democratic governors. Republican Governor Dunn upset this operational style, and the poorly staffed committees of the legislature found it extremely difficult to carry out an independent policy role of their own. The Republican members voted strongly as a bloc in support of Dunn's proposals, but they were usually outnumbered. Some Republican legislators interviewed indicated that this party line support could be weakening. The chief reason given for this was the Governor's over-dependence on his own staff and lack of consultation with Republican legislators. One Republican legislator stated: "He (Governor) depends on the advice of two men on his staff that are often uninformed or give him poor advice." These negative comments plus the Democratic majority in the General Assembly have reduced the Governor's influence in the legislature. All of the legislators (11) interviewed were in agreement that the Governor had given top priority to the statewide kindergarten program. The Governor and his staff were also in agreement with this assessment.

Since the Governor has the opportunity to appoint at least four persons to the SBE during his four-year term of office and serves as an ex-officio member of the SBE, one would expect him to work closely with the Board in the formulation of educational policy. However, this does not appear to be the case. Six of the eight Board members interviewed indicated that the SBE does not work directly with the Governor and his staff when they are developing legislative proposals affecting the public schools. The SDE State Board expert agreed with this assessment. The Governor, however, rated the SBE as a good source of ideas and advice, and he felt that the Board was of assistance in the development of elementary and secondary school finance legislation. The Governor attributed his rating to his feeling that

the Board members represented a broad spectrum of geographical opinion, and has a deep interest in education. The Governor added, though, that he felt the SBE had greater potential for leadership and influence than it was presently exerting. No member of the Governor's personal staff rated the SBE as being the single most useful source for providing information about the public schools to the Governor. Two members of the Governor's staff rated the SBE as a minor source of advice and ideas to the Governor's office. One member of the Governor's staff commented "the submission of a resolution is about the only source of influence at the command of the SBE."

The Governor indicated that his most useful source of information about the public schools was the SDE. However, he felt that the TEA would be a superior source if there was not so much friction between himself and that group. The Governor's relationship with the TEA had been exacerbated by TEA's necessity to maintain its viability with the Democratically controlled legislature. This was clearly the case in the finance-kindergarten proposal pushed by Dunn. The TEA's statement opposing political interference in the staffing of the SDE, which was issued shortly after Stimbert's dismissal, was viewed by some in the Governor's office as indirect criticism of them. We found a noticeable coolness toward the TEA among the Governor's staff members. The Governor identified the TEA and the PTA as the two education organizations that were of most assistance to his office in the development of education programs. The Governor did not identify any non-education interest groups that were useful in the development of education or school finance proposals. However, his personal staff did identify the Tennessee Municipal League and the Tennessee County Services Association as having worked closely with the Governor's Office on education and school finance proposals.

In summary, the Governor displayed a great deal of respect for the office of the Commissioner of Education, in spite of his confrontation with Commissioner Stimbert. The SDE was rated by the Governor as his single most useful information source concerning the public schools. His success in working with the legislature has been affected by the Democratic party dominance and a feeling among some Republican legislators that they are being ignored (too much reliance on personal staff). The Governor's relationship with the TEA was not close but he and his staff recognized this group as being the most influential educational interest group. Almost all of the actors are in agreement that the Governor has given top priority to education issues in his legislative program.

Tennessee Education Interest Groups, Structure, and Relationships

The major education interest groups in Tennessee represent the teachers, the school boards, and the school administrators. Our data reveal that the Tennessee Education Association which represents the teachers is by far the most influential among these groups. The education interest groups in Tennessee illustrate what Iannaccone⁶⁶ referred to as a statewide monolithic system. Iannaccone's typology included four basic descriptors of state educational policy systems: (1) a locally-based disparate category which includes those states which are characterized by localism in the structure which link educational leaders and, for example, the legislature; (2) a statewide monolithic structure where the chief point of tangency between the legislators and education falls at the state level in the form of interest groups and agencies. Further these interest groups come to the legislature with unified proposals; (3) the statewide fragmented structure which emphasizes the linkages that fall to state level organizations and agencies, but these come to the legislature fragmented, disunited, and often

in conflict rather than with consensus; and (4) the statewide syndical category for those states that governmentally sanction a coalition, such as a special commission (Iannaccone used the Illinois School Problems Commission as an example). Numerous states and particularly southern states have traditionally operated within the statewide monolithic framework in respect to state level education decision making. This style of operation has largely disappeared in those states where stress and conflict have caused splits between education interest groups (such as NEA and AFT). In addition conflict between administrators and teachers has contributed to the disappearance of the monolithic approach in some states.

Tennessee, in our judgment, continues to operate within the framework of the statewide monolithic structure. The TEA is the predominant educational interest group. TEA presently accommodates teachers, principals, and superintendents under its umbrella with little in the way of internal stress. The Tennessee School Boards Association (TSBA) is the most visible education interest group at the state level that is not included in the TEA. We observed little in the way of stress or conflict between the TEA and other organizations. At the present time the strength and resources of the TSBA are so few relative to those of the TEA that it could not serve as a genuine competitor to the TEA even if it desired to do so. Table 16 displays some selected facts, for comparative purposes, about the major education interest groups in Tennessee.

On all the indicators represented in Table 16 the resources of the TEA far exceed those of the TSBA. The Tennessee Association of School Administrators (TASA) is a part of the TEA so comparisons between those organizations are not useful. The TASA does not have a full-time professional employed to represent its interest; these functions are carried out by the full-time staff of the TEA. The Secretary-Treasurer of the TASA is a full-time

employee of the State Department of Education.

TABLE 16

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS ABOUT TENNESSEE EDUCATION INTEREST GROUPS--
TENNESSEE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (TEA), TENNESSEE ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL
ADMINISTRATORS (TASA), AND TENNESSEE SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION (TSBA)

Characteristics	Organization		
	TEA	TASA	TSBA
Membership	39,149	1,217	141 Boards 705 Members (estimated)
Income from Dues (estimated)	\$979,000	\$3,651	\$33,000
Professional Staff	27	0	2
Lobbyist	2 full-time 4 part-time	0	2 part-time
Research Department	Yes	No	No

SOURCE: JALAN Aufderheide, "The Place of Educational Interest Groups in
State Educational Policy-Making Systems," unpublished Ph.D. disser-
tation (Columbus, Ohio, The Ohio State University, 1973).

The point we are making is that even if the potential for disagreement between the TEA and other education interest groups exists, the other organizations generally have few comparative resources with which to advance their case.

The TEA is recognized as the most powerful education interest group by legislators as well as State Board members. The TEA was ranked as the top lobby in the state by the 11 legislators we interviewed. Table 17 displays the legislators' rankings of the most influential lobbies with regard to all types of legislation.

When asked to identify the most influential education interest group, 9 of the 11 legislators identified the TEA. The University of Tennessee was identified by two legislators. When legislators were asked for specific reasons for TEA's influence, the following factors were identified:

TABLE 17

LEGISLATOR ASSESSMENTS OF INTEREST GROUPS THAT ARE THE MOST INFLUENTIAL WITH REGARD TO LEGISLATION

Group	Democratic Legislators (N=6)	Republican Legislators (N=5)	Total
Tennessee Education Assn.	6	5	11
Farm Bureau Federation	5	5	10
Tennessee Municipal League	3	0	3
Liquor Lobby	2	1	3
Tennessee Taxpayers Assn.	0	2	2
Bankers	1	0	1
Truckers	1	0	1
Manufacturers	0	1	1
University of Tennessee	1	0	1

(1) status of teachers in the local communities, (2) information capability and good research reports, (3) effective lobbying ability, (4) persistent and effective leadership (Executive-Secretary Don Sahli was frequently mentioned). Most legislators indicated that the other education interest groups at the state level were weak and only played a minimal role. Most legislators (10 of 11) felt that major education interest groups presented a unified front on most legislative issues. Two legislators indicated that TEA's mild efforts in the area of professional recognition (collective bargaining) had caused some minor opposition to crop up but in general legislators indicated that the TEA is not openly opposed by other education interest groups. TEA officials felt that the size of their membership was their most important resource. In addition they stressed their research and information capability. We might add that the broad constituency within the TEA contributes to its strength at the state level. Most professional employees of the SDE either are or have been members of the TEA; in addition, a number of State Board members (educators) are or have been members of the TEA. One legislator characterized this situation:

"It is hard to tell where the interest of the TEA stops and those of the SDE begin."

The Tennessee School Boards Association leaders indicated that they were trying to improve their organization's communications and effectiveness. The education policies in which they have been most active, according to them, were certification, teacher salaries, and policies concerning leaves of absence. The leadership of the TSBA was aware of its relatively minor role in comparison to the role of the TEA. The TSBA leadership felt most of this disparity in influence could be associated with the vast difference in the amount of financial resources available to each group.

The TASA had little independent visibility at the state level. Many legislators simply viewed it as part of the TEA. In some instances legislators asked us to explain "TASA" to them as they were not aware of the group.

In summary, the monolithic pattern exists among education interest groups in Tennessee and they are linked closely to the SDE. The TEA is the dominant force in the monolith and few signs of change in this operational state of affairs were observed.

SECTION V

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

In concluding the case study, this section will offer further interpretation about Tennessee's statewide education governance picture as of 1972-73. To facilitate the explanation, some themes already mentioned in the previous pages will be emphasized. The first and central theme or thread that appears to run through this case study is the apparent recognition, by many actors, that the structure for the governance of education in Tennessee has been inadequate. But recognition of structural shortcomings has not led to much agreement as to what basic changes should be made.

Many actors recognized and were critical of the past political domination of the state education agency. In the beginning the posture of Governor Dunn appeared to indicate that he was in favor of changing this method of operation. When it became apparent that the removal of political patronage from the operation of the SDE would clash with other political considerations this position was abandoned. (A member of the Governor's staff contends that patronage considerations have diminished since 1973.)

Commissioner Stimbert's efforts to introduce a new style (participatory-professional) of operation to the position of Commissioner caused considerable "grousing" in the SDE and among SBE members. The general complaint was that no one was acting as "captain of the ship." This new style was perceived by legislators and education interest group leaders as a lack of know-how on the part of Stimbert. In other words, the traditional role expectations for the Commissioner's position in Tennessee had become so well established that

deviations from these expectations were interpreted as a lack of ability. We do not view politics and education as being necessarily incompatible. Possibly some intermediate approach that would not have emphasized the extremes of either position could have led to a successful change in operational style in the Tennessee SDE. One can describe the actions of the Governor and Commissioner in their controversy positively in terms of the motivations of both men. The Commissioner apparently felt that the best way to develop leadership among the staff of the SDE and among SBE members was to assume a nondirective approach. At the same time he apparently felt that he had to defend the staff against wholesale "head hunting" (firings) in order to gain their confidence. The Commissioner's position against political considerations in personnel appointments presented problems to the Governor. It is possible that the Governor was sincere in his desire for some changes in the method of operating the SDE, though he may not have viewed these changes as going so far as to exclude his opportunity to meet other responsibilities, that is, the advancement of the Republican party. Events that have occurred under the new Commissioner (Benjamin Carmichael) suggest that efforts toward upgrading and improving the Department are continuing. Commissioner Carmichael has rearranged the organizational structure of the Department and has brought in new personnel to key positions. A member of the Governor's staff describes the reorganizations as follows:

Dr. Carmichael has brought about an extensive reorganization of that department which already is resulting in improved internal management and extension of supervisory services to the local school systems of Tennessee. In carrying out this reorganization, Dr. Carmichael restaffed almost all of the management and supervisory level positions of any great significance in the department. He filled these positions with persons of his own choosing and with a completely free hand in so far as the Governor was concerned. Management positions, for the most part, now are staffed with younger individuals who have a broad array of experience in education in Tennessee and elsewhere.⁶⁷

A second theme was the relatively weak role played by the Tennessee legislature. Due to inadequate staffing, low pay, and short sessions the legislature does little in the way of initiating education legislation. Now that the majority Democratic party in the legislature finds the executive branch controlled by the opposition it is in an adversary position without the ability to offer much in the way of alternative proposals.

Third, the role and impact of the SBE have traditionally been overshadowed and dominated by the Commissioner and the Governor. The Tennessee SBE appeared to us to be in a state of flux. Some members were cognizant of the Board's negative image and were in favor of change; others, however, appeared to be generally satisfied with existing conditions. In spite of the overall negative image of the SBE found in our data we found some signs of change that could lead to an improvement of the Board's image. Some of these are: (1) The emergence of the two-party system in Tennessee which is negating some of the constraints placed on a Board of Education by a one-party system in which all decisions are left to the governor and his cabinet with the Board serving as a legitimizing agent. (2) The formation of the Board of Regents on July 1, 1972 which removed the concern for higher education from the domain of the Board of Education, thus giving the Board much more time to focus on K-12 issues and concerns (it was estimated that before the Board of Regents was established up to 85 per cent of the Board of Education's time was spent on higher education concerns). (3) The efforts made by Commissioner Stimbert to change the operating style of the Commissioner (much of this was aborted by the Board's difficulty in assuming more responsibility and the Commissioner's short term).

The Tennessee Education Association and the Tennessee School Boards Association are encouraging the State Board to get more actively involved

in the legislative process. This action is possibly based on the premise that the Board could have substantial power if it chose to exercise it. Recently, the Nashville Tennessean (newspaper) reported that the Board unanimously endorsed the idea of having school superintendents appointed by the local boards of education. This is not a new issue, but it does indicate that the Board has decided to reactivate the issue, which, if acted upon, would call for a statewide referendum. This measure was introduced by a new board member, which seems to substantiate somewhat the position that new appointees to the Board are taking more aggressive action to get things done.

In spite of this sign, one must remain cognizant of the fact that there are opposing forces that are working against the emerging power of the State Board in Tennessee. Only two will be mentioned. First, the executive type system of government does not lend itself to giving away its base of power to any group other than the Governor and his cabinet. The Governor of Tennessee has more appointive power than any other governor in the fifty states and the system is structured for him to maintain that power. The Governor not only appoints the Commissioner of Education who acts as chairman of the Board, in addition, he appoints Board members which allows him to pick and choose and build a personal base of power on the Board. Second, Board members, by and large, do not have the necessary time nor, in many cases, the access to information that allows them to make decisions with confidence. It would appear that this Board will have to have strong leadership from some of its own members in setting up the mechanism needed to both inform and involve all Board members. At present, the Board of Education receives almost all of its information from the SDE and according to most Board members, this information is not always useful. One member commented:

"What we get from the SDE is data ... what we need is background and understanding." Thus members have added that the Board is never given alternatives to consider. It is forced into the role of voting yea or nay on a single proposal.

The fourth theme has to do with the role of the TEA as one of major importance in educational decision making in the state. TEA is recognized by legislators, members of the Governor's office, and State Board members as the strongest education interest group in the state. Their lobbying ability and the quality of the information they provide are both rated high by other actors. In our opinion the educational interest group structure in Tennessee is a prime example of what Iannaccone referred to as a statewide monolith. The education interest group structure in Tennessee displays few signs of internal stress. In contrast to some other states, teachers and administrators are not in conflict over such issues as due process, continuing contracts, and professional negotiations. How soon these issues will become more divisive in Tennessee we have no way of knowing. If the pattern that has occurred in other states holds true, the stress surrounding these issues will eventually occur in Tennessee. But for the present we observed a minimum of stress on these issues during our research in the state.

In summary, based on our observations we judge the influence of the key actors on educational decision making in Tennessee in the following manner: The Governor--has a great deal of influence and much of this occurs because of the nature of the governance structure in Tennessee. The Commissioner--has the potential for great influence. He is independent of the SBE but lacks independence from the Governor. The State Board of Education--must be one of the weakest in the nation; part of this occurs because of the

structural model in Tennessee. The SBE does not select the commissioner nor can they remove him. Furthermore members of the SBE do not select the chairman of their own group, the commissioner serves in this capacity by statute. Lastly the SBE meets only on a quarterly basis which contributes to its minimal role. The SBE is largely dependent on the Governor, SDE and TEA for the initiation of education policy. By way of contrast, the TEA plays a strong role in education policy development. This organization has a great deal of unity and has a favorable image with most actors in the system.

FOOTNOTES

¹For a full discussion of the methodology used in this case study see Roald F. Campbell and Tim L. Mazzone, Jr., Investigating State Education Policy Systems: Methodological Approach and Research Framework. (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1972).

²Lee Seifert Green and Robert Sterling Avery, Government in Tennessee. (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1966), p. 2.

³Stanley J. Folmsbee, Robert Corlew and Enoch L. Mitchell, Tennessee: A Short History. (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969), pp. 5-11.

⁴Ibid., pp. 521-522.

⁵U.S. Census 1970, General, Social and Economic Characteristics, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1972.

⁶W. J. McCoy, "The Tennessee Political System: The Relationship of the Socioeconomics to Political Processes and Policy Outputs," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee, 1970), p. 42.

⁷Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 527-541.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰U.S. Census 1970, op. cit.

¹¹Green and Avery, op. cit., p. 6.

¹²Ibid., p. 7.

¹³Rankings of the States, 1972, (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1972), p. 16.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵U.S. Census 1970, op. cit.

¹⁶Ibid.

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¹⁸Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁹Where Tennessee Ranks, 1972, Research Bulletin 1970 R10, (Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee Education Association, May 1972), p. 20.

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²¹ William Goodman, Inherited Domain: Political Parties in Tennessee (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee, 1954), p. 30.

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²⁴ Ibid., p. 36.

²⁵ Daniel Elazar, American Federalism: A View from the States (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1956), pp. 79-116.

²⁶ Stanley J. Folmsbee, Robert E. Crolew and Enoch L. Mitchell, Tennessee: A Short History, op. cit., p. 544.

²⁷ Tennessee Blue Books 1971-1972 (Nashville, Tennessee: Secretary of State, 1972), p. 9.

²⁸ An Introduction to the Tennessee Legislative Council Committee (Nashville, Tennessee: Legislative Council Office, second floor, State Capitol, 1967.)

²⁹ John G. Grumm, "The Effects of Legislative Structure on Legislative Performance," in State and Urban Politics, eds. Richard I. Hofferbert and Ira Sharkansky (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 317.

³⁰ John Burns, The Sometime Governments, prepared by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), p. 52.

³¹ Green and Avery, op. cit., p. 89.

³² Joseph A. Schleringer, "The Politics of the Executive," in Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis, eds. Herbert Jacob and Kenneth Vines (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 232.

³³ Tennessee Blue Book, 1971-1972 (Nashville, Tennessee: Secretary of State, 1972), p. 95.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 95-96.

³⁵ Tennessee Code Annotated, Sec. 49-103-105, (Nashville: State Department of Education).

³⁶ Tennessee Blue Book, 1971-1972, op. cit., p. 94.

³⁷ Tennessee State Department of Education, Organization Chart 1970 (Nashville: State Department of Education, 1972).

³⁸ Sam P. Harris, State Departments of Education, State Boards of Education, and Chief State School Officers. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973).

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⁴⁰ Gary V. Branson, "The Characteristics of Upper Level Administrators in State Departments of Education and the Relationship of these Characteristics to other State Variables," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1974).

⁴¹ Rankings of the States, 1970, op. cit., p. 36.

⁴² Rankings of the States, 1970, op. cit., p. 63.

⁴³ Thomas L. Johns and Janet S. Foerster, Public School Finance Program, 1971-1972 (States, District of Columbia, and Outlying Area) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1973), pp. 315-316.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 311-314.

⁴⁶ Roe L. Johns, Kern Alexander, and Dewey H. Stollar, Status and Impact of Education Finance Programs (Gainesville, Florida: National Educational Finance Project, 1971), p. 137.

⁴⁷ The Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity--Disparities in School Finance (Washington, D.C.: 1970).

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⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ State Board Minutes, May 1971.

⁵² Bylaws of the Advisory Council on Teacher Education and Certification (Nashville, Tennessee: State Department of Education, 1972).

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⁵⁴ "Recommended Certification Revisions for Superintendents, Supervisors, and Principals"--Position paper prepared by the Tennessee Professors of Educational Administration and Supervision (Nashville, Tennessee: State Department of Education, 1971).

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59 Nashville Banner, Newspaper, November 6, 1972.

60 Nashville Banner, Newspaper, November 16, 1972.

61 Nashville Banner, Newspaper, November 22, 1972.

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66 Ibid.

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